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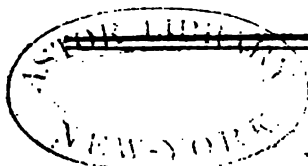
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,

FROM THE
Foundation of the SEE of ROME,
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

VOL. V.

By ARCHIBALD BOWER, *Esq*;

*Heretofore Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Philosophy, in the
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And, in the latter Place, Counsellor of the Inquisition.*



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M.DCC.LXI.

With this Volume is delivered *A Summary View of the Controversy between the Papists and the
Author*, containing a Full Confutation of all the Calumnies, which They and their Protestant
Tool have invented to blacken his Character, and discredit this Work, with Remarks upon the
Certificates from the Inquisition.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
P O P E S,
OR
BISHOPS of ROME.

BASILIIUS
Emperor of
the East.

HADRIAN II.

LEWIS II.
Emperor of
the West.

The Hundred and fifth BISHOP of Rome.



NICHOLAS being dead, *Hadrian* the second ^{Hadrian II.} of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of ^{chosen;} *Talarus*, of the Family of *Stephen III.* and *Sergius* ^{Year of} II. and Presbyter of the Church of *St. Mark*, was ^{Christ 867.} chosen to succeed him, with the greatest Unanimity that had ever yet been seen in the Election of a Pope, all, who did not themselves aspire at that Dignity, wishing it might be conferred upon *Hadrian*. He had been chosen no less unanimously upon the Death of *Leo IV.* and *Benedict III.* the two immediate Predecessors of *Nicholas*. But though he then prevailed upon the People to acquiesce in the Reasons he alledged against his Promotion, he could not persuade them to hearken to them now, though in the seventy-fifth Year of his Age; and the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People being all of one Mind, they carried him by

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B

Force

Year of
Christ 867.

and conse-
crated.

Rome plun-
dered by the
Duke of Spo-
leti.

Force from the Church of *St. Mary the Greater*, where they found him at his Prayers, to the *Lateran* Palace, and there placed him on the pontifical Throne amidst the loud Acclamations of all Ranks of Men. The Envoys of the Emperor *Lewis*, who were then in *Rome*, hearing of the Election of *Hadrian*, were no less pleased with it than the *Romans* themselves, but complained of their not being invited to it though they were on the Spot. But the *Romans* pleading the Eagerness of the People, which they could not restrain, and at the same Time ingenuously owning, that, as it was not customary for the Emperor's Envoys to assist at the Election of the new Pontiff, they had not invited them to it, lest it should be alledged as a Precedent to introduce such a Custom, the Envoys acquiesced and went with the rest to pay their Obeisance to the Elect. The Decree of the Election being sent to the Emperor, and confirmed by him (for though the Pope might be chosen he was not to be ordained without his Consent) *Hadrian* was solemnly consecrated in the Church of *St. Peter* on the 13th of *December* 867. That Ceremony was usually performed by the Bishops of *Ostia*, of *Porto*, and *Albano*; but the Bishop of *Albano* being dead, and *Formosus* of *Porto* having been sent by Pope *Nicholas* to preach to the *Bulgarians*, *Hadrian* was consecrated by *Donatus* of *Ostia*, by *Peter* of *Cava*, then an episcopal See under the Archbishop of *Salerno*, and by *Leo* of the *White Forest*, called formerly the *Black Forest*; a City of *Tuscany*, on the *Aurelian Way* ^b.

The Joy of the *Roman* People was not a little damped by the sudden and unexpected Arrival at *Rome* of *Lambert* Duke of *Spoleti*, who, entering the City in a hostile Manner, while the Ceremony of the Pope's Consecration was performing in the *Vatican*, gave it up to be plundered by his Followers; and no Houses, no Churches, no Monasteries were spared; Men were forced to ransom themselves and their Families with large Sums, and Women of the first Rank and Distinction were either most barbarously used, or carried away. Of this Insult *Hadrian* complained to the Emperor, who thereupon deprived *Lambert* of his Dukedom, while the Pope, on his Side, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against all concerned in it, till they restored what they had taken away. Being returned to the *Lateran*, he ordered all the Presents, that, according

^a Guil. Bibliothecarius in Hadrian II.

^b Idem ibid.

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to Custom, were sent to the new Pope, to be sold, such only excepted as were destined for Divine Service, and the Price to be distributed among the Poor, saying, *let us give freely what we have received freely, according to the Precept of our Lord; they are given to us for the Sake of the Poor, and let the Poor share them with us* c.

Year of
Christ 867.

The Death of Pope *Nicholas* was no unwelcome News to the King of *Lorraine*. He flattered himself, that the new Pope would be more complaisant, or at least not quite so inflexible as his Predecessor, with respect to the Affair of his Divorce; and he therefore no sooner heard of the Election of *Hadrian* than he wrote to him the following Letter. “ I have received the disagreeable News of
“ the Death of Pope *Nicholas* of happy Memory, who, I doubt
“ not, is crowned in Heaven with the Saints. The whole Christian
“ World, the Clergy in particular, and above all the holy apostolic Church, Mother of all Churches, have Reason to mourn
“ for so great a Loss. I am myself sensibly affected with it, I appealed to his Justice and Equity against the Calumnies of my Enemies, submitted to him or rather to St. *Peter*, far beyond what
“ any of my Predecessors ever had done, complied with his paternal Admonitions, and hearkened to the Exhortations of his Legates, even to the Disparagement of my royal Dignity, and the
“ Power that I hold of God alone. But he, suffering himself to
“ be prejudiced against me by the Sowers of Strife and Sedition,
“ would never allow me to appear before him with my Accusers,
“ agreeably to the Laws both human and divine, nor to visit that
“ Church, of which my Ancestors were the Protectors. It gives
“ me great Joy to hear, that the *Bulgarians* and other Barbarians
“ are invited to the Tombs of the Apostles, and no less Concern
“ to find that I am not allowed to approach them. But waving
“ that, since it has pleased the Almighty to raise you to the Pontifical Dignity, you will not, I hope, oppose my earnest Desire of
“ paying my Obedience to your Holiness in Person, and informing
“ you, on that Occasion, by Word of Mouth, of all that passed between your Predecessor and me. This I shall look upon as a particular Mark of your paternal Goodness to one, who professes
“ himself a most obedient Son and most faithful Protector of your
“ Holy See d.”

The King of
Lorraine
writes to the
new Pope.
Year of
Christ 868.

c Guil. Bibliothecarius in Hadrian II.

d Regim. ad an. 868.

Year of
Christ 868.

Hadrian
grants him
Leave to
come to
Rome.

Absolves
Waldrada,
excommuni-
cated by his
Predecessor.

In Answer to this Letter the Pope assured the King, that he should always find in the Successors of St. *Peter* all the Justice, that was enjoined or required by the human Laws or by the divine; that if he was innocent of what was laid to his Charge, he might come to *Rome* without Fear; and even if he was guilty, provided he was ready to acknowledge his Fault, and atone for it by an edifying and salutary Penance. This Condescension in the Pope is supposed to have been owing to the Interposition of the Emperor *Lewis* in Favour of his Brother *Lotharius*, a perfect Harmony subsisting between the Two Brothers, as they were both alike jealous of their Two Uncles, *Lewis* of *Germany* and *Charles* of *France*, ready to seize on the Dominions of *Lotharius* the Moment the Pope pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him. On the other hand the Pope could refuse nothing to the Emperor, who was then employed in driving the *Saracens* out of *Italy*, who had made themselves Masters of several Cities and strong Holds in the southern Parts of that Country. At his Request he even absolved *Waldrada* from the Excommunication that his Predecessor had thundered out against her, wrote to her himself to acquaint her therewith, and at the same Time to the Bishops of *Germany* to let them know, that being assured by his Son the Emperor that *Waldrada* sincerely repented of her past Wickedness, and renouncing all Commerce with *Lotharius*, was determined to lead thenceforth the Life of a sincere Penitent, he had thereupon absolved her; and they might therefore permit her to enter the Church, might speak to her, and treat her in every Respect as one restored to the Communion of the Faithful. *Lotharius* had, it seems, informed the Pope, that the Kings of *France* and *Germany* had formed a Design of attacking his Dominions, should he undertake a Journey to *Rome*. For upon the Receipt of his Letter *Hadrian* wrote to both those Princes, exhorting them to live in Peace with their Nephew, and not to raise Disturbances in his Dominions or invade them, while he was absent on his Journey to *Rome*, since the Emperor looked upon his Cause as his own, and would revenge it accordingly. He added, that he was determined, if Occasion required, to employ the powerful Arms, that God had put into his Hands, with those of the Emperor^s.

* Regin. ad an. 868.
10. tom. 3. Concil. Gall.

† Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 868.

‡ Hadr. ep.

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This Complaisance in the new Pope encouraged *Lotharius* to hope, that if Queen *Theutberga* herself owned her Marriage to be null, and applied to the Pope for a Divorce, his Holiness might be prevailed upon by the Emperor to grant it without further Examination; for he dreaded, even under *Hadrian*, the Issue of a formal Trial. At his Request therefore, and with the Pope's Permission, *Theutberga* set out for *Rome*, and being there received by his Holiness with extraordinary Marks of Kindness, she pretended her Marriage to have been unlawfully contracted, and to be null on that Consideration as well as on account of some bodily Infirmities; earnestly entreated him to dissolve it; and begged he would allow her to consecrate herself to a religious Life, and to spend the Remainder of her Days in Peace and Retirement. The Pope heard her with Attention; but instead of complying with her Request, he told her, that the Affair was too momentous to be decided at once; that he would examine it more maturely with his Brethren in a Council, and in the mean time advised her to return to *France*, promising to write to the King in her Favour. He did so, exhorting the King to receive and treat her as Part of himself till the Affair was finally determined by the Council, which he intended to summon for that Purpose, and to let her enjoy undisturbed, till the Meeting of the Council, the Revenues of the Abbies, which he had allotted her for her Support and the Support of her Dignity. The Pope closes his Letter to *Lotharius* with the following Words, "Whoever opposes this shall be anathematized, and you yourself shall be excommunicated, if it is done by your Command, or with your Approbation or Consent^h." *Hadrian* wrote at the same Time to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, bestowing upon him the highest Commendations, and empowering him, as his Vicar, to see the Decrees of the Apostolic See, relating to the Affair of *Lotharius*, put in Execution, and to keep his Sovereign, *Charles* of *France*, steady in the Resolution of protecting the persecuted Queenⁱ.

Lotharius, having settled the Affairs of his Kingdom in the best Manner he could, set out for *Rome* soon after the Return of the Queen, whom he ordered to undertake that Journey again and follow him thither. He proposed in the first Place to have an Interview with his Brother the Emperor *Lewis*, flattering himself, that

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Theutberga
goes to Rome
and applies in
vain to the
Pope for a
Divorce.

The Pope
writes in her
Favour to
the King.

and to *Hinc-*
mar of
Reims.

^h Hadr. ep. 12. tom. 8. Concil. Gall.

ⁱ Hadr. ep. 4. tom. 3. Concil. Gall.

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Christ 868.

if he could get him to undertake his Cause, the Pope might, by that Means, be prevailed upon to annul his Marriage with *Theutberga*, and consent to his marrying *Waldrada*. Being therefore advanced as far as *Ravenna*, he dispatched some of his chief Lords to acquaint the Emperor with his Arrival in his Dominions, and to beg an Interview with him before he applied to the Pope. As *Lewis* was then in the Field, carrying on the War with great Success against the *Saracens*, he sent Deputies to the King advising him not to proceed, but rather to return, for the present, to his Kingdom, and defer their Interview to a more proper Season. But *Lotharius*, impatient to have an End put at last to so tedious an Affair, instead of hearkening to his Advice, pursued his Journey to *Benevento*, where he met his Brother; and it was agreed, that the Emperor should order the Pope to repair to the *Benedictine* Monastery on *Monte Cassino*, and that *Lotharius*, attended by the Empress *Ingelberga*, whom he had gained with many rich Presents, should meet his Holiness there.

Has an Interview with the Pope at Monte Cassino.

The Pope readily complied with the Emperor's Order, and received *Lotharius*, introduced by the Empress, and warmly recommended to him by the Emperor, with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem, but neither by Entreaties nor Presents could he be prevailed upon to give his Consent to the wished-for Divorce, which, he said, he referred to the Decision of a Council to be held in his Presence, wherein the whole Affair should be examined anew. All the Empress could obtain in Favour of *Lotharius* was, that the Pope, to shew that he did not look upon the King as an excommunicated Person, should say solemn Mass, should permit him to assist at it, and even administer the Sacrament to him, and to all in his Retinue. To this *Hadrian* agreed upon Condition the King publicly declared before he received the Sacrament, that he had had no Commerce whatever with *Waldrada*, not even verbal, since the Time of her being excommunicated by his Predecessor Pope *Nicholas*. The unhappy Prince had gone too far to recede, and therefore readily agreed to make the Declaration that his Holiness required, though conscious to himself of having not only conversed, but carried on the same criminal Commerce with *Waldrada* after she was excommunicated as he had done before. However the Pope was satisfied, and the next Day, when Mass was over, which he said with great Pomp and

Is admitted to Mass celebrated by the Pope;

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and Solemnity in the Presence of the Empress, of the King, and their numerous Retinue, taking the Sacrament in his Hand, he addressed the King in the following Words: "If you know yourself, O King, not to be guilty of the Sin of Adultery, which *Nicholas*, my Predecessor, forbade you to commit, and are fully determined to abstain from it in Time to come, approach without Fear, and receive the Sacrament of eternal Life for the Remission of your Sins. But if you are conscious to yourself of having committed that Sin, or are not determined to avoid it so long as you live, presume not to receive it, lest what has been by divine Providence prepared for a Remedy should prove your Condemnation."

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The King, unawed by these Words, received the Sacrament; and so did his Followers, some few excepted, who withdrew upon the Pope's saying to them as he administered it, "If you have been no ways accessory, nor have consented to the Sin of your Lord and Master *Lotharius* with *Waldrada*; if you have not communicated with any excommunicated by the Apostolic See, may the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ procure you Life everlasting."

And receives
the Eucharist.

Among those, who attended *Lotharius* on the present Occasion, was *Gonthier*, the famous Archbishop of *Cologne*, who had encouraged the King, above all the rest, to dismiss *Theutberga* and marry *Waldrada* in her Room, and had been, on that Account, excommunicated by *Nicholas*, as has been said in the Life of that Pope¹. *Hadrian* however, at the Desire of the Emperor, not only absolved him from the Excommunication, but admitted him, with the other Followers of *Lotharius*, to Lay Communion; and that upon his reading aloud, before he received it, the following Paper; "I *Gonthier* declare, before God and his Saints, to you my Lord *Hadrian*, sovereign Pontiff and universal Pope, to all the venerable Bishops subject to you, and to the whole Assembly, that I do not complain of the Sentence of Deposition pronounced canonically against me by my Lord Pope *Nicholas*, but humbly bear it; that I shall not presume to perform any Functions of the sacred Ministry, unless you out of Pity reinstate me in my ancient Dignity; and that I will never give any Cause of Offence to the holy *Roman* Church, or to the Pontiff, who presides in

Gonthier of
Cologne absolved by the
Pope.

The Paper
read on that
Occasion.

¹ Regin. ad an. 869. et Annal. Bertin.

¹ See vol. iv. p. 295.

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“ it, but shall ever live attached and obedient to both. I *Gonthier* have signed this Declaration on the First of *July*, Second Indiction, in the Church of *St. Saviour* of the Monastery of *St. Benedict* on *Monte Cassino* m.” This Declaration *Gonthier* read so as to be heard by all, who were present, and the Pope thereupon administered the Sacrament to him among the Laity, saying, “ And I grant you Lay Communion, upon Condition that you observe the Promise you have made so long as you live (A).”

Lotharius follows the Pope to Rome.

Meets with a cold Reception from the Romans.

But is well received by the Pope.

The Pope's Presents to him.

Ingelberga returned after this Ceremony to the Emperor, and *Hadrian* to *Rome*, whither he was soon followed by *Lotharius*. But the King met not there with the Reception he expected. No one came out to receive him; none of the Clergy appeared upon his repairing to the Church of *St. Peter* to visit the Tomb of the Apostle, and he went attended only by those of his own Retinue to the Lodging, that was appointed for him near that Church, but had not been so much as swept. He sent immediately to acquaint the Pope with his Arrival, and to beg that his Holiness would say high Mass the next Day, being *Sunday*, and allow him publicly to assist at it with all his Followers. This the Pope would not agree to, lest he should disoblige the *Romans*, who were no Friends to *Lotharius*, and held the Memory of *Nicholas*, who would not communicate with him, in the greatest Veneration. However the King entered *Rome* on the *Monday* following, was well received by the Pope, whom he presented with several Gold and Silver Vessels, and was even entertained by his Holiness at Dinner in the *Lateral* Palace. Among the Presents, that the Pope made in his Turn to the King, were a Royal Mantle, the Branch of a Palm-tree, and a Ferula or pastoral Staff, such as the Bishops used in those Days. These Presents from the Pope were looked upon by the King and those about him as mysterious or emblematical. By the Mantle they understood *Waldrada* (and they might as well have understood any Body else, or any Thing) who, they said, would be restored to the King; the Branch of the Palm-tree they interpreted as denoting

» *Regin. Annal. Meten. et Bertin.*

(A) This Declaration, made by *Gonthier*, when the King and his Followers were admitted by the Pope to the Communion of the Church, plainly shows, that they were admitted to it in the Church of

the above-mentioned Monastery, as we read in the *Bertinian* Annalist, and not at *Rome*, as is supposed by *Regino* and the Annalist of *Metz*.

Victory,

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Victory, viz. that the King would carry his Point in spite of all Opposition; and by the Ferula was meant, as they understood it, Authority over the Bishops, whom the King would oblige in the End to submit to his Will, and agree to his marrying *Waldrada*. Year of Christ 868.

Lotharius left *Rome* pleased with these Thoughts; but those of the Pope were very different from his. For no sooner did the King set out on his Return to *Lorraine*, than the Pope dispatched *Formosus* and another Bishop, with the Character of his Legates, to examine anew, jointly with the Bishops of *Germany*, *France*, and *Lorraine*, the Affair of the Divorce on the Spot. They were to decide nothing, but only to enquire into all the Circumstances of that Affair, and make their Report to his Holiness, who appointed a Council to meet on the First of *March* of the following Year 870; and the decisive Sentence was to be pronounced by that Council. But the Pope and the Bishops were delivered from that Trouble in a Manner, that was little expected either by them or the King. For *Lotharius*, arriving at *Lucca* on his Way home, was there seized with a malignant Fever; and he died of it at *Placentia*, whither he had caused himself to be carried. His Death happened on the Eighth of *August* 869, and very few of his numerous Retinue outlived him, being almost all carried off by the same Distemper, some at *Lucca* and the rest at *Placentia*. Thus ended an Affair, that had engaged the Attention of Pope *Nicholas* ever since the Year 862, and would, in all Likelihood, if it had not thus ended, have given a great deal of Trouble to *Hadrian*. Death of Lotharius.

I have observed in the foregoing Volume, p. 336, that the Emperor *Basilius* having driven *Photius* from the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*, and restored *Ignatius*, dispatched *Basilius* the Protospatharius to acquaint Pope *Nicholas* therewith, but that *Nicholas* dying before his Arrival at *Rome*, the Letters, which he was charged with, were delivered to his Successor. The Protospatharius and *John* Metropolitan of *Sylæum*, sent by *Ignatius*, arrived at *Rome* soon after the Election of *Hadrian*, and were received not only by him, but by the whole *Roman* People, with extraordinary Marks of Distinction. At their First Audience they delivered to the Pope, as the supreme Head of the Church, the Acts of the Council held by *Photius* at *Constantinople* against Pope *Nicholas*, desiring his Envoys from Basilius Emperor of the East to the Pope. They deliver to him the Acts of the Council held by Photius against Pope Nicholas;

* Annal. Bertin. Metens. et Regino.

o See vol. iv. p. 329.

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Holiness to cause those Acts to be examined, and to condemn what should be found in them repugnant to the Dignity of the holy *Roman* Church, or what he thought inconsistent with the true Catholic-Doctrine. We are told, that the Metropolitan of *Sylvaum* threw the Book containing the Acts of that Council on the Ground when he presented it to the Pope, saying, *thou hast been cursed at Constantinople, be cursed again at Rome: Photius, Minister of the Devil, and a new Simon compiled thee: Nicholas, Minister of Christ, a new Peter and Lover of Truth condemned thee.* The Spatharius stamping upon it, and striking it with his Sword is said to have added; *I believe that the Devil dwells in this Work, and says by the Mouth of Photius his Accomplish what he cannot say himself.* He assured the Pope at the same Time that *Photius* had indeed got the Emperor *Michael* to sign those Acts one Night when he was drunk, but that the Signature of the Emperor *Basil* was forged, as were the Signatures of many Bishops, whose Names were seen there, though they had never so much as heard of that Council^p. The Pope caused the Book to be carefully examined by Persons well skilled in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and upon their delivering their Opinion concerning it, he assembled a Council in the Church of *St. Peter*, consisting of Twenty-nine Bishops, Nine Presbyters of the *Roman* Church, and Five Deacons. By that Assembly the following Decrees were issued in the Presence of the eastern Envoys. 1. That the Acts of the Council held at *Constantinople* by *Photius* and the Emperor *Michael* his Protector, against the Authority of the *Roman* Church, should be publicly consigned to the Flames, and likewise the Writings that either had published against Pope *Nicholas*, or the Patriarch *Ignatius*. By the Second Decree *Photius* was again condemned and anathematized; but to that Decree was added, that if he submitted by Word of Mouth and in Writing to the Decrees of Pope *Nicholas*, and to that enacted by the present Council, he should be admitted to Lay Communion. The Third Decree granted the Communion of the Church to all, who, adhering to *Photius*, had approved or signed his anathematized Council, provided they burnt the Copies they had of that Council, conformed to the Ordinances of the Apostolic See, and communicated with *Ignatius* as lawful Patriarch of the Imperial City. By the Fourth they were excom-

which are
condemned in
a Council at
Rome and
burnt.

^p Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian.

municated,

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communicated, who did not communicate with *Ignatius*, but still continued to countenance the Usurper of his See in his unjust Usurpation. Lastly, all, who, instead of delivering up or burning the Acts of *Photius's* Council, should thenceforth conceal or defend them, were excommunicated if Laymen, and degraded if Clerks. By this Council, and all the Bishops who composed it, the Emperor *Basilus* was cleared from having been any-ways concerned in the Deposition of *Ignatius*, his Signature was pronounced a Forgery, and he declared worthy of a Place among the orthodox Emperors. The Council being ended, the above-mentioned Book was laid on the Steps at the Church Door, was trodden under Foot by the Bishops, and then, in their Presence, thrown, with many Anathemas and Curses, into a great Fire and consumed. *Anastasius* adds, that a violent Shower happened at the Time, but that instead of extinguishing, it served to kindle the Fire, and make it burn with more Violence, -as if it had not rained Water but Oil⁹.

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Christ 868.

In the same Year 868 *Hadrian* assembled another Council at Rome against *Anastasius* Cardinal Presbyter of St. Mark. *Anastasius* had been excommunicated by *Leo IV.* as has been related in the foregoing Volume^r, and had upon his Death not only usurped the pontifical Dignity, but treated *Benedict*, who was lawfully chosen, with the utmost Barbarity^s. However Pope *Nicholas* restored him to his Dignity, and *Hadrian* even appointed him Librarian of the Roman Church. But he, abusing the Confidence the Pope reposed in him, pillaged the Patriarchal Palace, and privately conveyed away the Acts of the Council that had condemned him in the Pontificate of *Leo*. Besides he was suspected of having been accessory to the Murder of *Hadrian's* Wife and his Daughter. For *Hadrian* was married to one *Stephania*, no Doubt before his Ordination, and had a Daughter by her, whom *Eleutherius*, Brother to *Anastasius* carried away by Force, and married, though betrothed to another. This the Pope highly resented, and applying to the Emperor, in whom alone the civil Power was still lodged, he prevailed upon him to appoint Commissioners to try the Delinquent according to the Roman Laws (B).

Anastasius
Cardinal
Presbyter ex-
communicat-
ed by *Hadri-*
an in a Coun-
cil at Rome.

⁹ Anast. in prefat. ad Concil. viii. Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian. p. 242.

^s Ibid. p. 260, 262.

^r Vol. iv.

(B) By one of *Constantine's* Laws, they, who ravished Virgins, or stole them, even with their Consent, against the Will of their Parents, were burnt alive (1). The

Severity of this Law was somewhat mitigated by *Constantius*, but he still made it a capital Offence (2).

(1) Cod. Theodos. l. 9. tit. 24. leg. 1.

(2) Ibid. leg. 2.

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Hereupon *Eleutherius*, to be revenged on the Pope, murdered both his own Wife, the Pope's Daughter, and her Mother. These Murders, for which he was tried by the Imperial Commissioners and sentenced to Death, he was said to have committed at the Instigation of his Brother *Anastasius*, whom the Pope therefore excluded from the Communion of the Church till he cleared himself, in a Council, from that as well as from the Crimes mentioned above. At the same time Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against all, who should in the mean while communicate with him, or so much as speak to him, and he was threatened with a perpetual Anathema if he stirred from *Rome* till his Cause was determined. What was the Issue of this Affair History does not inform us (C).

Hadrian
sends Legates
into the East
for the as-
sembling of
a General
Council.

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Christ 869.

Hadrian not satisfied with excommunicating *Photius* and condemning the Acts of his Council at *Rome*, as has been related above, wrote to the Emperor, as soon as he had dispatched the Affair of *Anastasius*, desiring him to assemble a General Council at *Constantinople*, as the most effectual Means of restoring to that Church the wished-for Peace and Tranquility. With this Letter, and another to the Patriarch *Ignatius*, were sent into the East *Donatus* Bishop of *Ostia*, *Stephen* of *Nepi*, and the Deacon *Marinus*; and they were to assist as the Pope's Legates at the General Council. They set out from *Rome* with the Envoys, whom the Emperor and *Ignatius* had sent thither the preceding Year, and arriving at *Thessalonica* were received there by *Eustatius* Spatharius, sent by the Emperor to meet them, and attended by him to *Sellambria*. At *Sellambria* they were met by *Sidinnius* Protospatharius, and furnished with Forty Horses out of the Emperor's own Stables, with Plate for their Table, and proper Persons to wait on them. Thus attended they arrived at the *Round-Castle*, and the next Day, being *Sunday*, they made their public Entry into *Constantinople*, being received at the

¹ Annal. Bertin. tom. viii. Concil. p. 129.

(C) I cannot help observing here, that some Writers, not aware of *Anastasius* having been by *Hadrian* appointed Bibliothecarian of the *Roman* Church, and his being stiled *Anastasius the Bibliothecarian*, have, by an unaccountable Mistake, understood of the Monk *Anastasius*, who

succeeded him in that Office and wrote the Lives of the Popes, what is said of the other, as if the Monk had been deposed and excommunicated; whereas it is certain that he held that Office to the Hour of his Death.

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Gate by all the great Officers of the Crown as well as the Clergy in their Copes, and conducted by them in great Pomp to the Palace of *Irene*. There they were received by *John* the Imperial Secretary and *Strategius* the Spatharius sent by the Emperor to excuse him from granting them Audience the next Day, it being his Birth-day. The Day following they were attended to the Imperial Palace by all the chief Lords of the Court, and admitted to the Presence of the Emperor, who rose up as soon as they appeared, received the Pope's Letter with his own Hand, kissed it, and having inquired after the State of the *Roman* Church and *Hadrian's* Health, kissed the Legates, and sent them to deliver the Pope's Letter to *Ignatius*. In that Letter *Hadrian* congratulated the Patriarch upon his Restoration, declared that he adhered in all Things to the Decrees of his Predecessor, to those especially against *Photius* and *Gregory* of *Syracuse*; recommended to *Ignatius* those Bishops, who had suffered Persecution on his Account; and as to those, who had been ordained by his Predecessor or by him, but had sided with *Photius*, he thought they might be forgiven upon their satisfying his Legates, in the Manner that he had prescribed^u.

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The Legates
well received
by the Empe-
ror.

The next Day they waited again on the Emperor, when he approved the Assembly of a General Council as was proposed by the Pope, told the Legates, that the Patriarchs of the East, the Metropolitans and Bishops had waited these Two Years for the Decision of the holy *Roman* Church their Mother, and exhorted them to spare no Pains in settling the distracted State of that Church, and re-establishing a perfect Harmony among them. The Legates answered that they were sent for that Purpose, but could admit no Orientals to the Council till they had signed a Formulary, which they had brought with them from *Rome*. The Mention of a Formulary excluding all from the Council, who should refuse to sign it, surprised the Emperor as well as the Patriarch, who was, it seems, present at this Interview, but upon its being, at their Request, produced by the Legates, and translated into *Greek*, they both approved of it, and the Council was thereupon appointed to meet on the Fifth of *October* of the present Year 869^w; and on that Day they met accordingly in the Church of *St. Sophia*.

A General
Council ap-
pointed to
meet at Con-
stantinople.

At the First Session none were present but the Pope's Three Legates, the Patriarch *Ignatius*, the Deputies of the Patriarchs of *An-*

First Session
of the Coun-
cil of Con-
stantinople.

^u Anast. in Pref. ad viii. Synod.

^w Guil. Biblioth. in Hadriast.

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tiach and *Jerusalem*, Twelve Bishops, who had steadily adhered to *Ignatius*, and several Patricians, at the Head of whom was *Bahanes*, appointed by the Emperor to assist at the Council with the Character of his Commissioners. In this Session was read the Pope's Letter to the Emperor, wherein he thanked and highly commended him for driving out *Photius*, and restoring the lawful Patriarch to his See, adding that at his Request he would show Mercy to those, who had sided with the Usurper, but that as they ought to be treated differently, some being more and some less guilty, he wished a General Council might be assembled, and his Legates allowed to preside at it, in order to determine who were to be treated with more Severity, and who with less. In the same Letter he desired that the Acts of *Photius's* Council might be condemned to the Flames, and the Decrees of the Councils held by himself and his Predecessor against him be signed by all the Bishops, who should compose the General Council. In the next Place was read the Formulary mentioned above, importing, that no Bishops, Presbyters, Clerks, or Monks should be admitted to the Council, till they had anathematized all Heretics, especially the Iconoclasts, and with them *Photius*, till they had condemned his Council, approved, signed, and received the Councils held by *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* against him; so that none but the avowed Enemies of *Photius* were to sit in this Council.

Second Ses-
sion.

In the Second Session, held on the Seventh of the same Month of *October*, Ten Bishops, and several Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, who had countenanced *Photius* in his unjust Usurpation, but had been ordained by *Ignatius* or his Predecessor, had their ecclesiastical Ornaments restored to them, and were allowed to sit in the Council upon their acknowledging their Fault, asking Pardon for it, and signing the Formulary. Upon these the following Penance was imposed by the Council, *viz.* that such of them as eat Meat should abstain from it, and likewise from Eggs and Cheese; that they, who eat no Meat, should abstain from Eggs, from Cheese, and even from Fish on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and only feed upon Legumes, that is, upon Roots and Greens. But they were allowed the Use of Oil, and a little Wine; and all were to kneel down Fifty times a Day, to say an Hundred times a Day, *I have sinned, Lord have Mercy upon me*, to repeat daily the Sixth, the Thirty-seventh, and the Fiftieth Psalms, and

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and forbear all ecclesiastical Functions till Christmas, when they were to be restored to their respective Ranks.

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The Bishops met again on the Eleventh of *October*, when *Theo-* *Third Session.*
dolus and *Nicephorus*, Metropolitans of *Ancyra* and *Nice*, who had been lawfully ordained, but had sided with *Photius*, were summoned to sign the Formulary sent from *Rome*, and take their Place in the Council. But with that Summons they refused to comply, declaring that they would sign nothing besides the Confession of Faith, which they had signed at their Ordination, and were ready to sign anew if required. This Answer did not satisfy the Legates; and the Two Metropolitans were by them, pursuant to their Instructions, excluded from the Council. In the same Session were read and approved the Letters of the Emperor *Basilus* and the Patriarch *Ignatius* to Pope *Nicholas*, and with them *Hadrian's* Letter to that Patriarch.

In the Fourth Session, on the Thirteenth of *October*, Two Bishops, *Fourth Ses-*
Theophilus and *Zacharias*, who still adhered to *Photius*, were, at *tion.*
their Desire, introduced and heard by the Council. They pretended, that Pope *Nicholas* had acknowledged *Photius*, and communicated with him, as well as with those whom he had ordained. But the contrary appearing from that Pope's Letters to the Emperor *Michael* and to *Photius* himself, which were publicly read, the Two Bishops upon their refusing to sign the Formulary, or even to hear it, were driven out of the Council.

The Fifth Session was held on the Twentieth of *October*, when *Fifth Session.*
Photius was summoned to appear before the Council, and upon his refusing to obey the Summons was brought thither by Force, pursuant to an Order from the Emperor. But as he would answer no Questions, nor own himself guilty, the Council dismissed him, after causing the Letters of Pope *Nicholas*, containing his Condemnation, to be read to him, and allowing him Time to return to himself and repent.

At the Sixth Session, on the Twenty-fifth of *October*, the Empe- *Sixth Session.*
ror assisted in Person; and the Bishops whom *Photius* had ordained, being introduced to the Council, the Letter of the late Pope to the Emperor *Michael*, declaring their Ordination to be null, was read to them, and approved by the Council. But the Bishops alledging several Instances of episcopal Ordinations rejected as null by the Pope, and yet admitted by other Bishops as valid and lawful, the Emperor answered,

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answered, that the Ordination of *Photius* was rejected as null by the other Patriarchal See as well as by that of *Rome*, that he was by all looked upon as an Usurper; and consequently that those, whom he had ordained, could be no Bishops, as he was no Bishop himself. This Session was closed with a pathetic Speech addressed by the Emperor to the Bishops, whom *Photius* had ordained, and read in his Name by the Secretary *Constantine*. In that Speech the Emperor expressed an earnest Desire to see Peace and Unity restored to the Church of *Constantinople*, exhorted those, who still acknowledged *Photius* for lawful Bishop, to acquiesce in the Judgment of the Council, and allowed them Seven Days to deliberate.

Seventh Session.

The Council met again on the Twenty-ninth of *October*, and the Emperor being present, *Photius*, and *Gregory of Syracuse* who had ordained him, were by his Order brought in. As *Photius* appeared leaning on a Staff, the Deacon *Marinus*, one of the Legates, ordered it to be taken from him, saying, *it is a Mark of Pastoral Dignity, and he is not a Pastor but a Wolf*. He was then asked whether he would sign the Formulary in order to his being received into the Church and admitted to Lay Communion. But that Proposal, as he was thereby to anathematize himself, he rejected with Scorn, and so did the Bishops, all to a Man, whom he had ordained, though earnestly pressed to it by the Emperor as well as the Council. Hereupon the Letters of *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* rejecting the Ordination of *Photius* as repugnant to the Canons, and likewise the Acts of the Council held lately against him under *Hadrian* at *Rome* being read, Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against him, with many Anathemas, and signed by all the Bishops of the Council. *Nicetas* adds, that the Bishops in signing it, dipt their Pens, not in Ink, but in the Blood of our Saviour. But of this no Notice is taken in the Acts of the Council.

Photius excommunicated.

The Eighth Session.

The Eighth Session was held on the Eighth of *November*, when all the Writings of *Photius* against Pope *Nicholas* and the Patriarch *Ignatius*, and with them the Acts of his Council, were, by the Emperor's Order, burnt in the Presence of the Council. In the next Place some Iconoclasts were heard, and Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out anew against all of that Sect, and likewise against *Photius* and *Gregory of Syracuse*.

* Nicet. in vit. Ignat. tom. viii. Concil. p. 1231.

At the Ninth Session, held on the Twelfth of *February* 870, several Persons, and most of them Men of the First Rank and Distinction, appearing before the Council, owned, that at the Instigation of the Emperor *Michael* and *Photius*, they had borne false Witness against the Patriarch *Ignatius*, asked Pardon of God and the Holy Council, and declared themselves ready to undergo what Penance the Holy Synod should think fit to impose on them. The Fathers, pleased with their voluntary Confession, enjoined them the following Penance, *viz.* that for the Space of Four Years they should only be admitted to the Service of the Catechumens, and stand, during the Two First Years, at the Church Door, that for Four Years they should abstain from Meat and from Wine, *Sundays* and Festivals excepted, and during the Term of Three Years more abstain from Meat and from Wine, on *Mondays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*. However the Patriarch *Ignatius* was impowered by the Council to mitigate the Rigour and shorten the Time of that Penance. All, who were guilty of the same Crime, were excommunicated till they confessed it and received the same Penance. When these were dismissed others were introduced, who owned that by the Emperor *Michael's* Order and for his Diversion they had, in the Attire of the Patriarch, said Prayers, performed the Ceremony of Ordination, and exercised other sacred Functions by Way of Derision; and upon them a Three Years public Penance was imposed, and Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against all, who should thenceforth countenance, or knowingly suffer the sacred Mysteries of our holy Religion to be thus exposed to Ridicule and Contempt. Lastly, they were heard in this Session, who had personated, in the Council of *Photius*, the Deputies of the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and they publicly owned that they had done so at his Instigation, and were utterly unknown to those Patriarchs. At this Session was present *Joseph*, Archdeacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, and Deputy of that Patriarch. He arrived a few Days before, and having perused the Transactions of the preceding Sessions, he presented a Writing to the Council, declaring, that he entirely approved all they had done.

In the Tenth and last Session, held on the last Day of *February*, at which assisted the Emperor in Person and his Son *Constantine*, whom he had taken the Year before for his Partner in the Empire, was read and by all approved the Definition of the Council,

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containing the Condemnation of *Photius*, of all who adhered to him, and of all Heresies and Heretics, that had been condemned by the Seven preceding Councils; the Ordination of *Photius* was declared null, and so was the Ordination of those whom he had ordained. As for the Bishops, who had been ordained by *Ignatius* or his Predecessor in the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*, but still continued to support the Usurper, they were anathematized and excluded for ever, should they even repent, from their former Ranks in the Church. On this Occasion the Emperor made a long Speech to the Fathers of the Council, exhorting them to instruct, with great Care, their respective Flocks, to maintain Concord and Unity amongst themselves, and the Ecclesiastics under their Jurisdiction, and to conform, in all Things, to the Definition of the Council, since they had all approved of it. His Speech was received by the Council with loud Acclamations, and he invited by the Pope's Legates to sign the Definition in the First Place. But he declined it, and would only sign after the Deputies of the Five Patriarchs. Thus the Legates signed in the First Place, *Ignatius* in the next, then the Deputies of the other Patriarchs, and after them the Emperor and his two Sons *Constantine* and *Leo*, and the Bishops, in all One hundred and One. At this Session were admitted into the Council *Anastasius* the Bibliothecarian, Count *Suppo* and *Everard*, sent by the Emperor *Lewis* to propose a Match between *Lewis's* Daughter, and *Constantine* the Emperor *Basil's* eldest Son, which however did not take Place *. The Council being ended, a circulatory Letter was drawn up in the Name of the Bishops who composed it, to acquaint the whole World with the Deposition of *Photius* and Restoration of *Ignatius*; and another was sent in their Name to the Pope, to return his Holiness Thanks for so steadily maintaining the Cause of the persecuted Patriarch, and restoring Concord and Unity to the distracted Church of the Imperial City. The Emperor wrote to the Pope, and so did the Patriarch *Ignatius* much to the same Purpose.

The Writings which the Bishops of the Council had signed taken from the Legates and restored. Before the Council ended, several Bishops of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, apprehending that by signing the Formulary sent by the Pope they had, in a manner, subjected the See of *Constantinople* to that of *Rome*, applied privately to the Emperor and *Ignatius* to have the Writings which they had signed taken from the Legates before they left the Imperial City. The Emperor complied

* Anast. in Pref. ad viii. Synod.

with

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with their Request, and by his Order the Writings were secretly conveyed away by those, whom he had appointed to attend the Legates. But *Anastasius*, and the Two other Envoys of the Emperor *Lewis* interposing, they were in the End all restored to them; and they put them into the Hands of the Envoys in order to their being conveyed to *Italy* with greater Safety ^a.

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The Council being ended a Conference was held, at which were present the Emperor, the Pope's Legates, the Patriarch *Ignatius*, the Deputies of the other Patriarchs, and the Envoys of the King of the *Bulgarians*, sent to enquire of the Deputies of the Patriarchs, what Church they ought to be subject to, whether to the Church of *Constantinople*, or to that of *Rome*. The Pope's Legates pretended, that they ought to be subject to that of *Rome*, since the King, their Master, had subjected himself and his People to it, and received from Pope *Nicholas* both Priests and Bishops. This the Envoys owned to be true, but added, that they wanted to know, which of the Two Sees it was most reasonable they should be subject to. The Legates answered, that they had no Instructions relative to that Affair, and therefore could determine nothing concerning it; but that, as their Country was full of Priests sent from *Rome*, they thought it ought to belong to the *Roman* Church. Hereupon the Legates of the other Patriarchs asked the Envoys, whom their Country belonged to when they conquered it, and whether they found in it *Greek* or *Latin* Priests. The Country, answered the *Bulgarians*, belonged to the *Greeks* when we conquered it, and the Priests we found in it were *Greeks*. This the Deputies of the Patriarchs looked upon as a plain Proof of their being ordained by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Country being under the Jurisdiction of that See. But the Legates answering, that many Natives of *Greece* received their Ordination at *Rome*, and were sent from thence into different Countries, the Deputies of the Patriarchs desired they would let them know upon what they grounded their Claim. We ground it, replied here the Legates, 1st, Upon the ancient Jurisdiction, which the Apostolic See enjoyed, as appears from the Decretals of the Popes, over *Old* and *New Epirus*, *Thessaly*, and *Dardania*, the Country that is now called *Bulgaria*; 2d, Upon the voluntary Submission of the *Bulgarians*, who have applied to *Rome* for Priests and Bishops; and lastly, upon the Conversion of that Nation brought about chiefly

Conference
concerning
Bulgaria;

^a Anast. in Not. ad Libellum.

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which is ad-
judged to the
See of Con-
stantinople.

Ignatius
drives the
Latins out of
Bulgaria.

The Legates
taken on their
Return by
Pirates.

by Priests and Bishops from *Rome*. And upon which of these Titles, replied the Deputies, do you rest your Claim? But to that the Legates returned no other Answer than that the Holy See had not chosen them, who were its Inferiors, for its Judges, and that they themselves were not empowered to determine any thing concerning that Point. However the Deputies, paying no Kind of Regard to their Remonstrances, pronounced the following Sentence, It is not fit that you, who have withdrawn yourselves from the *Greek* Empire, and entered into an Alliance with the *Franks*, should have a Right to ordain in the Dominions of our Prince; and we therefore declare, that the Country of the *Bulgarians*, which was formerly subject to the *Greeks*, and had *Greek* Bishops and Priests, ought, upon its Return to Christianity, to be restored to the Church of *Constantinople*, from which it was separated by Paganism. The Legates loudly protested against that Sentence, declaring it null, as given by Judges whom the Holy See had neither chosen nor acknowledged. At the same time they conjured the Patriarch *Ignatius*, presenting him a Letter from the Pope, not to concern himself with *Bulgaria*, lest the *Roman* Church should by his Means be deprived of her Rights after labouring long to reinstate him in his. The Patriarch, being with much ado prevailed upon by the Legates to read the Pope's Letter, declared in general Terms, that as he was not young enough to be imposed upon, nor old enough to dote and do what he censured in others, he would not interfere in the present Dispute. However he soon began to exert, agreeably to the Judgment given by the Deputies of the Patriarchs, his Patriarchal Authority in the Country of the *Bulgarians*, drove out the *Latin* Missionaries, sent *Greeks* in their Room, and ordained *Theophylactus* Bishop of *Bulgaria*.

The Emperor was highly provoked at the haughty Behaviour and Obstinacy of the Legates on this Occasion. However, dissembling his Resentment, he entertained them, before their Departure, at his Table, and made them rich Presents, but was so careless of their Safety, that they were taken by the *Sclavonian* Pirates, who stripped them of all they had, and among other Things of the original Acts of the Council, and carried them into Captivity. But having in the End recovered their Liberty at the pressing Instances of the Pope and the Emperor, they arrived at *Rome* on the Twenty-second of *December* of the present Year, and gave the Pope a minute Account of what had passed in the Council as well as in the Conference with the

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the Deputies of the Oriental Patriarchs. As for the Acts of the Council, *Anastasius* the Bibliothecarian had procured a Copy of them, which he brought with him to *Rome* and presented to the Pope, who ordered him to translate them into *Latin*, which he did accordingly ^b. It is to be observed, that this Council is received and acknowledged by the *Latin* Church, that is, by all the Western Bishops, for the Eighth General Council, but is rejected by all the Eastern Bishops, except the few who communicate with *Rome*. The rest receive only Seven General Councils.

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While *Hadrian's* Legates were exercising, with the Connivance of the Emperor, an uncontrouled Authority over the Bishops in the East, he was himself striving to exert the like Authority over Kings and Princes in the West. The King of *Lorrain* dying at *Placentia*, without lawful Issue, as has been related above, *Charles* of *France* no sooner heard of his Death, than leaving *Presles* on the *Seine*, where he then was, he hastened into *Lorrain*, where he had many Friends, to take Possession of that Kingdom. At *Verdun* he was received by several of the chief Lords of *Lorrain*, and from thence attended by them to *Metz*, where he was, in a general Assembly, consisting of the greater Part of the first Men of the Kingdom, and of Seven Bishops, acknowledged for lawful Heir to his deceased Nephew, was anointed King of *Lorrain* by *Hincmar* of *Reims* and crowned with great Solemnity ^c. On the other Hand the Pope, espousing with great Warmth the Cause of the Emperor *Lewis*, who was then employed in driving the *Saracens* out of *Italy*, dispatched, upon the First News of the Death of *Lotharius*, Two Bishops *Paul* and *Leo* into *France* with Letters to *Charles*, to the Bishops of *Lorrain*, to those of *France*, to the Lords of both Kingdoms, and one to *Hincmar* of *Reims* in particular. In these Letters *Hadrian* declared the Kingdom of *Lorrain* to belong to the Emperor as the deceased King's Brother, exhorted those, to whom they were directed, to maintain his just Rights, and threatened all with Excommunication, who should countenance or assist any Pretender or Pretenders to that Crown. In his Letter to *Hincmar* he exhorted that Prelate to support, with all his Authority, the just Claim of the Emperor, and empowered him to act in this Affair as his Vicar. With the Pope's Legates an Envoy named *Boderad* was

Charles the
Bald acknow-
ledged King
of Lorrain.

The Pope de-
clares that
Kingdom to
belong to the
Emperor;

^b Anast. in Præfat. ad viii. Synod. et Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian. Bertin.

^c Annal.

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sent by the Emperor to claim, in his Name, the Dominions of the late King his Brother, as devolved to him by his Death. These Letters were all dated the Fifth of September 869, and Charles was, on the Ninth of that Month, acknowledged by the far greater Part of the Clergy and Nobility of *Lorrain* for their lawful Sovereign, and crowned, as has been said, with great Solemnity; so that the Pope's Legates and the Emperor's Envoy found him in the quiet Possession of that Kingdom^d. To these Letters therefore no Answer was returned either by the Clergy or the Nobility, and the King only told the Legates that when Matters were settled he would write to the Pope, and did not doubt but he should satisfy his Holiness.

but no Regard is had to his Declaration.

Letters from the Pope to Lewis of Germany and to Charles on this Occasion.

The Pope, being informed upon the Return of his Legates, that Charles had taken Possession of the Kingdom of *Lotharius* before their Arrival in *France*, immediately dispatched new Legates with Letters to the Two Kings *Lewis* and *Charles*, to the Lords and Bishops of their respective Kingdoms, and a Second to *Hincmar* in particular, all dated the Twenty-seventh of June 870. In his Letter to the King of *Germany*, he commends him for not offering to invade the Kingdom of his deceased Nephew, as *Charles* had done in Defiance of all the Laws of Justice and Equity; threatens to excommunicate that Prince, if he does not restore what he has so unjustly seized, and recommends his Legates, who, he tells the King, had something to communicate to him by Word of Mouth which he did not chuse to commit to Writing. They were in all Likelihood charged to propose an Alliance between the King and the Emperor against *Charles*, in order to drive him from the Kingdom of *Lorrain*. But *Charles*, dreading a War with the King of *Germany* more than all the Pope's Anathemas, had already yielded to him, and he actually possessed, a considerable Part of that Kingdom. In his Letter to *Charles* he complains of the little Regard he had shown for his former Legates, and his not answering the Letter he had writ to him; reproaches him with a Breach of the solemn Promise he had made and confirmed upon Oath, not to covet or usurp the Dominions of his Brothers, or their Descendants, and puts him in Mind of what he himself wrote formerly to the Holy See, when his Brother *Lewis* King of *Germany* drove him from his Kingdom, viz. *have Pity upon me, and suffer not a Breach of the most solemn Trea-*

^d Aimoin. l. v. c. 24. Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 869.

ties to pass unpunished. From these Words the Pope concludes, that as *Charles* was guilty of a like Breach of the most solemn Treaties in seizing on the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, the Apostolic See had, even according to him, a Right to punish him for it, and certainly would, if he did not restore it to the lawful Heir. He closes his Letter with admonishing, exhorting, and even commanding the King to relinquish what he had *unjustly* and *tyrannically* usurped, and threatening to come in Person into *France*, and do what his Ministry required he should, if the King did not comply with this Third Admonition. In his Letter to the Bishops and to *Hincmar* he complains of their Want of Respect for the Apostolic See in not answering the Letters, which he had sent them by his former Legates; charges *Charles* with a Breach of his Oath, with Perjury, and Tyranny; and reproaches them with scandalously betraying their Ministry in not dissuading and restraining him, as they ought, from invading the Dominions of the Emperor, while he was actually engaged in a War with the avowed Enemies of the Christian Name. In the Close of his Letter he requires *Hincmar*, and the other Bishops, to separate themselves from the Communion of *Charles*, if he did not hearken to their Admonitions, else he would separate them from his Communion. *Hadrian's* Letter to the Lords of *Charles's* Kingdom was the same, Word for Word, with that to the Bishops f.

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As the Pope had written Two Letters to *Hincmar* in particular, *Charles* allowed that Prelate to answer them; and he answered them accordingly by a very long one, worthy of particular Notice, as it shows what were the Sentiments of the *Gallican* Bishops in those Days with respect to the Power claimed by the Popes over Kings and Kingdoms. For in that Letter, he tells the Pope in the First Place, that he had acquainted the King, as well as the Lords and Bishops of both Kingdoms, viz. of *France* and *Lorrain*, with the Orders which he had received from the Apostolic See, and had let them know that his Holiness had declared the Kingdom of *Lorrain* to belong to the Emperor, and would without Distinction of Persons, excommunicate any, who should presume to invade or usurp it; but that the Kings of *France* and *Germany* had answered, that they were lawful Heirs to the deceased Prince, and had, as such, an undoubted Right to divide his Kingdom between them in order to avoid a civil War, which would have ended in the utter Ruin of both

Hincmar's
Answer to a
Letter he
received
from the
Pope.

f Hadrian, ep. 23.

g Hadrian, ep. 24, 25, 26, 27.

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Kingdoms. That *Charles* in particular had a well grounded Claim to the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, as having been bequeathed to him by his Father *Lewis the Debonnaire*, and confirmed to him by the Emperor *Lotharius*, Father to the present Emperor, who signed that Donation. And was I, adds *Hincmar*, to set up for a Judge? Was I to declare, that he had no Kind of Right to that Kingdom, and treat him as an Usurper and a Tyrant? You tell me, that if the King does not comply with your Admonitions, I must renounce his Communion, or you will renounce mine. What you write I have communicated to many Ecclesiastics as well as to Laymen, and they all tell me, that no such Order was ever sent to any of my Predecessors though in their Times Brothers made War upon Brothers, nay and Children upon their Fathers; that the Conduct of your Holiness in this Affair is quite unprecedented; that though *Lotharius* lived in public Adultery, your Predecessor did not command any Bishop to separate himself from his Communion, on pain of being himself separated from that of the Holy See; that neither the Popes your Predecessors, nor other holy Bishops have avoided the Company even of heretical or schismatic Princes; but on the contrary have treated them with all the Respect that was due to their Rank, and conversed with them when Occasion required, with such as *Constantius* the Arian, *Julian* the Apostate, and the Tyrant *Maximis*; that *Charles* was no Usurper, no Tyrant, Names which your Holiness is pleased to bestow upon him, but lawful Heir to the Crown of the deceased King, which had been therefore offered him by most of the Lords and Bishops of the Kingdom. They say in *France*, continues *Hincmar*, that the Popes have of late been greatly wanting in the Respect that is due to their Princes; that their Conduct towards them is very different from what it was in the Times of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*; that *Pepin*, espousing the Cause of Pope *Stephen* against *Astulphus*, King of the *Lombards*, overcame that Prince, not by the Pope's Excommunication, but by Dint of Arms; that the Kingdoms of this World are to be gained not by Excommunications, but by Victories; and that the Lord himself has declared that Kings hold their Kingdoms of him; when we put them in Mind of the Power vested in the Popes, as the Successors of St. *Peter*, and in the other Bishops, they answer, exert that Power then against the *Normans* and other Enemies of the State without imploring our Assistance. But if you want our Help you must not put it out of our Power to help

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help you. You must tell the Pope, that he cannot be both King and Bishop; that his Predecessors contented themselves with governing the Church, without meddling with Affairs of State; and that he must not think of obliging us to receive a King, who is at too great a Distance to defend us against the sudden and frequent Irruptions of the Pagans; that his Predecessors imposed no such Yoke on ours; that we cannot and will not bear it, being authorized by Holy Writ to defend our Liberties and our Inheritance even at the Expence of our Lives. If a Bishop excommunicates a Christian unlawfully, he thereby forfeits his Power; and he can exclude none from Life everlasting, who is not excluded from it by his Sins. It does not become a Bishop to deprive a Man of the Name of Christian, and give him up to the Devil, if he is not incorrigible, for a temporal Kingdom. If his Holiness therefore means to procure Peace, let him not concern himself with State Affairs; for he never will persuade us, that we shall not attain the Kingdom of Heaven, unless we acknowledge the King whom he shall be pleased to give us upon Earth. All are greatly shocked, continues *Hincmar*, at the Terms of Perjury and Tyranny, that are to be met with in your Letters, and say what it would serve no Purpose to let you know. But I must inform your Holiness, that the King is determined to maintain, at all Events, his Claim to the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, and that no Censures nor Excommunications will divert him from it.

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In the mean time new Legates arrived from *Rome*, viz. Three Bishops, *John*, *Peter*, and *Wibod*, and a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church named *John*, with Envoys from the Emperor. The Legates went straight to *St. Denys*, where the King then was, and entering the Church of the Abbey while he was attending Divine Service there on the Festival of that Saint, they ordered him, in the Name of the Sovereign Pontiff, to relinquish the Kingdom of *Lorrain*, to which, they said, the Emperor alone had an undoubted Right. The King, highly provoked at their insolent Behaviour, ordered them immediately to withdraw, which damped their Courage not a little; and laying aside the Air of Authority which they had assumed, they became thenceforth more tractable. The King had several Conferences with them, treated them with great Civility, and soon after their Departure sent the Abbot *Arsegesilus* and a Layman named *Lotha-*

Insolent Behaviour of
the Pope's
Legates in
France.

8 Hincmar Opuscul. 41. tom. ii. p. 689. et apud Baron. ad ann. 870.

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rius to *Rome* with Two Crowns of Gold enriched with precious Stones for *St. Peter* ^b. What Reception his Embassadors met with from the Pope History does not inform us. But certain it is that *Hadrian*, finding that *Charles* was not to be intimidated with his Menaces, gave up the Point, and left the Kings of *France* and *Germany* to possess undisturbed their respective Shares of the Kingdom of *Lorrain*. *Charles* kept his Share; but the King of *Germany* was soon after prevailed upon by the Empress *Ingelberga* to yield his to the Emperor.

The Pope
takes *Carloman*
rebel-
ling against
his Father
into his Pro-
tection.

Charles was not more incensed against the Pope for his adjudging the Kingdom of *Lorrain* to the Emperor, than he was on account of his taking his Rebel Son *Carloman*, and *Hincmar* the younger, Bishop of *Laon*, into the Protection of the Holy See. *Carloman* had rebelled against his Father; but being taken Prisoner by the King's Troops, he was kept closely confined at *Senlis*. The Pope's Legates on their Arrival in *France* interposed in his Favour; and he was at their pressing Instances released from his Confinement, and even recalled to Court. But leaving his Father, soon after the Departure of the Legates, he fled into *Belgium*, and being there joined by great Numbers of Outlaws and Vagabonds, he laid waste the whole Country between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*. The Bishops, whose Dioceses he thus plundered, thundered out Excommunications against his Followers and Accomplices; and *Hincmar* of *Reims*, among the rest, declared all, who should continue with him after the Eleventh of *March*, cut off from the Communion of the Church. No Sentence was pronounced by *Hincmar* or any of the other Bishops, against *Carloman* himself, the King having reserved him to be tried by the Bishops of the Province of *Sens*, as he was a Clerk (for his Father had obliged him to take Deacon's Orders) and belonged to that Church. The Threats of the Bishops made no Impression upon *Carloman* or his Followers; and they continued their Ravages till they were obliged by the King's Forces to quit the Country, and retire beyond Mount *Jura*. *Carloman* being thus driven out of *France*, and not doubting but he should be excommunicated by the Bishops of his Province, resolved to recur to the Pope; and he sent accordingly Deputies to implore the Protection of the Apostolic See against the undeserved Resent-

^b Aim. l. vi. c. 24.

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ment of his Father, by whom he was, he said, as cruelly as unjustly persecuted. *Hadrian* had not yet forgot the little Regard that *Charles* had paid to his Remonstrances, Exhortations, and even Commands, concerning the Succession to the Kingdom of *Lorrain*; and therefore, laying hold of this Opportunity to vent his Passion, he wrote a most abusive Letter to the King, telling him, that not satisfied with usurping a Kingdom, to which he had no kind of Right, he surpassed in Cruelty the Brutes themselves, that spared their Young; whereas he treated his own Son with a more than brutal Barbarity, not only depriving him of his Favour and Protection, but driving him out of his Kingdom, and moreover impiously insisting upon his being excommunicated by the Bishops. This the Pope called a crying Piece of Cruelty and Injustice; and therefore ordered the King, in the Name of St. *Peter*, to receive *Carloman* again into Favour, to reinstate him in the Benefices and Honours he enjoyed before, and cherish him as his Son till the Arrival of the Legates, whom he should appoint to take Cognizance of the Affair, and settle it agreeably to the Laws of Justice. At the same time he wrote to the Lords of both Kingdoms, forbidding them to bear Arms against *Carloman* on Pain of Excommunication and eternal Damnation; and likewise to the Bishops, declaring all their Excommunications null till the Affair was enquired into by his Legates on the Spotⁱ. But to these Letters not the least Regard was paid by the King, the Lords, or the Bishops. For *Carloman* being taken some time after, he was first degraded by the Bishops of the Province of *Sens*, and then sentenced to Death by the Judges appointed by the King to try him. The Sentence however was not put in Execution, the King contenting himself with causing him to be deprived of his Sight, in order to prevent him, by that Means, from raising new Disturbances in the Kingdom^k.

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The Pope's
Letters to the
King in his
Behalf;

and to the
Lords and
Bishops.

No Regard
paid to them.

The Interposition of the Pope in favour of *Hincmar* the younger was attended with no better Success than his Menaces in favour of *Carloman*. *Hincmar* the younger was Nephew to *Hincmar* of *Reims* by that Prelate's Sister, and had been preferred in 859 by the Interest his Uncle had at Court to the See of *Laon*, subject to that of *Reims*. He was at first greatly favoured by the King, who bestowed upon him a rich Abbey, and even honoured him with an Employ-

*Hincmar of
Laon incurs
the Displea-
sure of the
King.*

ⁱ Hadrian, ep. 28, 29.

^k Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 873.

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ment in his Court; but in the Year 868 he forfeited the King's Favour on the following Occasion. One *Luido* had enjoyed a Benefice in the Diocese of *Laon*, which after his Death was granted to his Son upon his paying a Sum of Money to that Church. This Benefice the Bishop took from him under some Pretence or other, and appropriated it to himself, though the King, to whom the Son of *Luido* applied for Redress, had desired him to restore it. Hereupon the King ordered the Cause to be tried in a Court consisting wholly of Laymen, summoned the Bishop to appear before them, and upon his refusing to appear, as if Laymen were not competent Judges in Affairs where the Church was concerned, confiscated the Revenues of his Bishopric, deprived him of his Abbey, and dismissed him from the Employment he held at Court. However, at the Interposition of *Hincmar of Reims*, Matters were adjusted for the present, the King was appeased, and the Bishop of *Laon* allowed to enjoy the Revenues of his Church till such time as the Affair was determined by proper Judges. For the Archbishop too had remonstrated, in a long Letter to the King, against the summoning of an Ecclesiastic before Lay Judges only, alledging several Canons to shew that the Bishop was not obliged to comply with the Summons, but on the contrary, that he would have betrayed the Rights of the Church had he obeyed it¹.

His unwarrantable Proceedings.

But the Bishop of *Laon* was a Man of a most restless Temper; and he soon after quarrelled anew with the King. For notwithstanding he was reinstated in the Possession of his Revenues till the Affair was finally determined by unexceptionable Judges, he wrote to the Pope, without the Knowledge either of his Uncle or of any other of the Bishops, complaining of the King, and representing him as an Usurper of the Lands and Estates of the Church. This Step was highly resented by the King, as well as by *Hincmar of Reims* and all the other Bishops, apprehending that it might occasion a Breach between *Charles* and the Pope, which would involve them, and, perhaps, the whole Kingdom in endless Troubles. But they were not more provoked at his recurring to the Pope than at his arbitrarily depriving, at this very Time, a Count named *Nortman* of a Benefice he enjoyed in his Diocese. That Benefice the King had granted to *Nortman* at the Bishop's own Request, who had re-

¹ *Hincmar*, ep. 29.

commended him to his Favour as a Person of great Merit, and his particular Friend. But soon after wanting to recover it, he ordered *Nortman* to give it up, and upon his not complying, but urging that it was granted him by the King, and that he held it of the Crown, he wrote to the Pope, complaining of *Nortman* as if he had unjustly seized and refused to restore the Possessions of his Church. Upon the Receipt of that Letter *Hadrian* wrote one to *Hincmar* of *Reims*, ordering him to excommunicate *Nortman*, if he did not immediately restore to the Bishop of *Laon* the Lands he had usurped of his Church. *Hincmar* knew, that the Pope was misinformed as to the Fact, and therefore very wisely took no Notice of the Order that was sent him. But in the mean time the Bishop of *Laon*, breaking into *Nortman's* House with a Troop of armed Men, seized or destroyed whatever he found in it, drove him out, and, with the utmost Barbarity, his Wife too, though brought to Bed but a few Days before, and took Possession both of the House and the Tenements^m. At the same time quarrelling with his own Clergy he suspended them all, forbidding them, on pain of Excommunication, to perform any ecclesiastical Function whatever, to administer Baptism to Children though in Danger of Death, or the Eucharist to dying Persons, and even to bury the Dead. *Hincmar* of *Reims* no sooner heard of this Interdict than he wrote to his Nephew, ordering him, as his Metropolitan, to revoke it immediately. But with that Order he refused to comply; which obliged *Hincmar* to declare the Interdict null, and command the Clergy of the Diocese of *Laon* to resume their Functions without any Regard to the unjust and uncanonical Sentence of their Bishopⁿ.

The King, highly provoked at the violent Proceedings of the Bishop, appointed a Council, consisting of all the Bishops of his Kingdom, to meet at *Verberie*, and summoned the Bishop of *Laon* to it in particular. The Bishops, in all Twenty-nine, met, pursuant to the King's Order, at the Place appointed, on the Twenty-fourth of April 869, and *Hincmar* of *Laon* among the rest, who finding the Bishops all to a Man, and even his Uncle, who presided at the Council, ready to condemn him, appealed to the Pope, and begged Leave of the King, who was present, to pursue his Appeal at *Rome*.

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Christ 870.

Is tried in
France, notwithstanding
his Appeal to
the Pope.

^m Acta Synod. Duziac. par. iii. c. 15. Hadrian, ep. 11. Hinc. Rem. ep. 35.
ⁿ Hinc. Opuscul. c. 2.

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Charles, far from granting him his Request, ordered him to be confined; but released him from his Confinement soon after^o. The following Year 870 another Council was held at *Attigni*, consisting of the Bishops of Ten Provinces; and in that Assembly the Bishop of *Laon* was accused by the King in Person of Breach of his Allegiance, by his Uncle of Disobedience to him as his Metropolitan, by *Nortman* of the Violence he had offered him and the inhuman Treatment of his Wife, by the Clergy of his Diocese of suspending them contrary to the Canons, and by several Bishops of excommunicating Persons of their Dioceses, over whom he had no Kind of Jurisdiction. The Bishop appealed again to the Pope; but no Regard was had by the King, the Archbishop, or the other Bishops to that Appeal, nor would they grant him Leave to go to *Rome*. However the King did not insist, nor did the Archbishop, upon his being tried according to the Rigour of the Law and the Canons. The King was satisfied with his renewing his Oath of Allegiance; and the Archbishop with his promising to obey him, for the future, as his Metropolitan. The other Complaints, that especially of *Nortman* and his Wife, were referred to the Arbitration of Three Bishops, viz. *Aetard* of *Nantes*, *Raginelm* of *Noyon*, and *John* of *Cambrai*; and all three, after examining the Affair of *Nortman* in the Presence of the King, gave Sentence in his Favour.

He is deposed
in a Council
of the Galli-
can Bishops.
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Christ 871.

But in the mean time the Bishop of *Laon*, distrusting his Cause, withdrew by Night from *Attigni*, though he had promised to remain there till the Complaints against him were all examined, and to stand to the Decision of the Three Bishops. The King sent him an Order to return; but with that Order he refused to comply, pretending, in a Letter he wrote in Answer to it, to be ill of a Fever, but at the same time begging Leave to go to *Rome*. The King answered the Messenger, who brought the Letter, that to him it seemed somewhat strange the Bishop should not be able, for his Illness, to come to him, and yet should be able to go to *Rome*. He added, that he would readily grant him his Request, provided he came, and satisfied him that it was just and reasonable. But he could by no Means be prevailed upon either to return to *Attigni*, or to acquiesce in the Decision of the Three Arbitrators; nay, he declared in a Letter to the Archbishop, that if the King took upon him to dis-

^o Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 869.

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pose of the Goods of his Church, he would not obey him, but ex-communicate all, without Distinction of Persons, who should presume to seize or usurp them, being authorized therein by the Canons. This Letter the Archbishop communicated to the King, who more exasperated than ever against the Bishop of *Laon*, for threatening him with Excommunication, appointed a Council to meet at *Douzi* in the Month of *August* 871, and ordered him to be summoned to it to answer the several Accusations brought against him. The Bishop appeared upon the Third Summons, when the King charged him with Perjury, Sedition, and Rebellion; with calumniating him to the Pope; with seizing by Force, Lands, that did not belong to him; with the barbarous Treatment of *Nortman* and his Wife; with Disobedience to his Metropolitan; with disposing of the Goods of his Church, especially of a golden Chalice and its Patten, or Cover, enriched with precious Stones, which the King had offered to St. *Mary* of *Laon*; with excommunicating or suspending the Clergy of his Diocese contrary to the Canons, &c. To these Complaints the Bishop returned no Answer, but, appealing anew to the Pope, insisted upon his being judged by the Apostolic See. But *Hincmar* of *Reims* making it appear from the very Canons of *Sardica*, which the other quoted to support and justify his Appeal, that he was not to appeal to the Holy See before, but only after Judgment was given by the Bishops of the Province, the Council voted, all to a Man, his Deposition, *saving in all Things the Judgment of the Apostolic See*. The Sentence was pronounced by *Hincmar*, who presided at the Council, and signed by Seven Metropolitans, Thirteen Bishops, One Chorepiscopus, Six Presbyters, and Two Archdeacons ^P.

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Christ 871.

The Bishops sent, upon the breaking up of the Council, *Astard*, *Their Letter* Bishop of *Nantes*, to *Rome* with the Acts and a synodal Letter to the Pope, wherein they desired his Holiness to confirm them, or, if he did not approve of their Proceedings, to cause the Bishop, whom they had deposed, to be judged anew by the same Bishops or by those of the neighbouring Provinces, and to send, if he chose it, a Legate to assist at the Judgment in his Name, as was prescribed by the Canons of *Sardica*. They added, that if his Holiness should reverse their Sentence, or in the mean time reinstate the Bishop in his Dignity,

^P Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 870. Hincmar Opuscul. Flodoard, l. iii. c. 22. Aim. l. v. c. 24.

they

Year of
Christ 871. they would avoid his Communion, and give themselves no further Trouble about him. In the Close of their Letter they begged the Pope to confirm the Election of *Aétard*, whom the *Britons* had driven from the See of *Nantes*, and the People and Clergy of *Tours* had unanimously chosen for their Bishop. This Letter is dated the Sixth of *September* 871. At the same Time *Hincmar* wrote a private Letter to the Pope to excuse his not executing the Order he had sent him to excommunicate *Nortman*, since his Holiness was grossly imposed upon with respect to that Affair. This he shows in his Letter, and wishes that, if his Holiness should have Occasion to send him any such Orders for the future, he would add this Clause to them, *provided the Case be as it has been represented to us*¹. The Pope, in his Answer to the Bishops of the Council, readily agreed to the Promotion of *Aétard* to the Metropolitan See of *Tours*. But he highly disapproved of their judging and condemning the Bishop

The Pope orders the Bishop of Laon to be sent to Rome. of *Laon* after he had appealed to the Apostolic See. “However since you have condemned him, he added, saving the Judgment of the Holy See, we order you to send him to *Rome* with one, at least, of his Accusers, and forbid you to appoint another Bishop in his room till his Cause has been re-examined, and judged anew in our Presence.” At the same time he wrote to the King, complaining of his taking in ill part his paternal Admonitions, and exhorting him to receive his Corrections with the Submission that became an obedient Son of the Holy See. He confirms the Election of *Aétard*, but requires, and even commands, the King to send the Bishop of *Laon* to *Rome*, declaring that he never would, upon any other Terms, consent to his Deposition². These Letters are both dated the Twenty-sixth of *December* 871.

The King's Letter in Answer to the Pope's. *Charles* was highly provoked at the Pope's commanding him to send a Bishop of his Kingdom to be judged at *Rome*, when he had by a Council of Bishops been found guilty of many Crimes, and, among the rest, of open Disobedience to the Commands of his Sovereign; and he returned the following Answer to *Hadrian's* Letter, penned, as is supposed and indeed is manifest from the Style, by *Hincmar* of *Reims*, “In your Letter concerning *Hincmar* of *Laon*, says the King, you write to us thus, *We will and command, by our Apostolic Authority, Hincmar of Laon to be sent*

¹ *Hincmar Opusc.* 41. p. 689.

² *Hadrian*, ep. 32.

³ *Ibid.* ep. 33.

“to us. Did any of your Predecessors ever write in the like Stile
 “to any of ours? Do you not thereby banish Christian Simplicity
 “and Humility from the Church, and introduce worldly Pride and
 “Ambition in their Room? And where did he, who dictated the
 “Letter that Bishop *Aetard* has brought to us, find it written, that
 “a King, who is, by the Laws both civil and ecclesiastic, the
 “Avenger of Crimes, can be commanded, by Apostolic Authority,
 “to send a Criminal to *Rome*, who has been legally convicted and
 “condemned? I wrote to you formerly, and now write to you
 “again, lest you should forget it, that we Kings of the *Franks*,
 “come of Royal Race, are not the Vicegerents of Bishops, but
 “Lords and Masters of the World.” Here the King quotes several
 Passages from Scripture, and likewise from the Letters and Decrees
 of the Popes themselves, commanding Obedience and Submission to
 Kings and Princes, and then continues thus. “And where is the
 “Law to be found, that subjects Kings to Apostolic Authority, that
 “requires them to send Delinquents tried and condemned to *Rome*
 “in order to their being there tried and judged anew? This Law,
 “Hell itself has vomited forth from its dark subterraneous Pits to
 “lead us astray from the Path pointed out to us in Holy Writ. We
 “therefore entreat you never more to write such Letters to us, or
 “to the Bishops and Lords of our Kingdom, that we may not be
 “obliged to treat with Contempt both the Letters and the Bearers.
 “We are willing to embrace what is approved by the Holy See,
 “when what the Holy See approves is agreeable to Scripture, to
 “Tradition, and to the Laws of the Church. If it interferes with
 “them, know that we are not to be frightened into it with Me-
 “naces of Excommunications and Anathemas.” The Bishops of *The Letter*
 the Council answered the Pope’s Letter to them much in the same *of the Bi-*
 Stile, telling him, that they had met with many Things in his Let- *shops of the*
 ter, which they should not have believed to have been written by *Council to*
 him, had not their Brother *Aetard* informed them, that the Mul- *the Pope.*
 tiplicity of his Occupations had not allowed his Holiness the neces-
 sary Leisure to read the Acts of the Council throughout, or to mind
 what they had writ to him. As to the Affair of *Hincmar* of *Laon*,
 they maintained, that, according to the Canons of *Sardica*, which
 they said they had caused to be read to them, it ought to be judged
 upon the Spot, if his Holiness chose to have it judged anew, and not

† Apud Baron. ad ann. 871.

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Christ 871.

The Pope
writes again
to the King
but in a very
different
Stile.

at Rome ^u. The Pope found by these Letters, that neither the King nor the Bishops were to be intimidated with his Menaces, and therefore thinking it adviseable to change his Stile, he wrote another to *Charles*, wherein, after apologizing for his former Letters as written by his Secretary while he was indisposed, and bestowing the highest Commendations upon the King, he promised to employ all his Interest in his Behalf, if they should both outlive the Emperor, who had no Issue Male, and never to acknowledge any other Emperor than him, should Heaps of Gold be offered him. With Regard to the Condemnation of *Hincmar*, the Pope mentioned it with great Moderation, desiring, and not commanding him to be sent to *Rome*, and assuring the King, that he should refer the final Decision of his Cause back to the Bishops of his Province. But the King did not, nor did the Bishops, think it adviseable to comply with his Holiness's Desire. On the other hand the Pope would not consent to the Election of another Bishop: And thus the See of *Laon* remained vacant till the Year 876, when the Affair was finally determined, as we shall see in the Sequel. The Pope, apprehending that the Promise he had made would give Umbrage to *Lewis* of *Germany*, begged the King to keep this Letter secret, or at least to communicate the Contents to none but his most faithful Servants^w.

Letters from
the Emperor
Basilus and
the Patriarch
Ignatius to
the Pope.

In the latter End of the present Year 871, the Abbot *Theognostus* arrived at *Rome* with Letters from the Emperor *Basilus* and the Patriarch *Ignatius* to the Pope, entreating him to allow *Paul*, Keeper of the Charters of the Church of *Constantinople*, whom *Photius* had preferred to the Episcopal Dignity, to keep his Rank, and restore *Theodore* Metropolitan of *Curia* to his, as he had been ordained by *Ignatius*, and had suffered much in his Cause before he could be brought to side with the Usurper of his See. In Answer to these Letters the Pope told the Emperor and the Patriarch, that it was not customary for the *Roman* Pontiffs to act contrary to the Decrees and Ordinances of their Predecessors, or to those of General Councils, and he could not therefore grant them their Request. In his Letter to the Emperor he reproached him with having entirely neglected the Safety of the Apostolic Legates, who, returning by Sea without a Convoy, had been taken by the Pirates, had been stript of every thing they had, and used with the utmost Barbarity, which, he says,

The Pope's
Answer to
their Letters.

^u Tom. vii. Concil. Gall. p. 1529.

^w Hadrian, ep. 29.

had never happened before to any Legates of the Holy See. In the same Letter he complained of *Basilus* for suffering the Patriarch *Ignatius* to ordain a Bishop for *Bulgaria*, threatening the Patriarch himself, as well as the Bishop whom he had ordained, with the Censures of the Apostolic See, if they should dare to concern themselves with that Country *. *Hadrian's* Answer to *Ignatius* has not reached our Times; but in the Fragment of another Letter in the *Greek* Copy of the Eighth Council, he censures the Conduct of the Patriarch in very sharp Terms, charges him with acting, in many Instances, contrary to the Canons, especially in promoting Laymen, at once, to Deacon's Orders in Defiance of the Decrees of the late Council, and bids him remember, that this was the First Step to the Downfall of *Photius*. However, as the Deputies of the Eastern Patriarchs had declared, that *Bulgaria* ought to be subject to the See of *Constantinople* †, *Ignatius* sent, notwithstanding the Pope's Menaces, the Bishop whom he had ordained, and many *Greek* Priests and Monks with him, to preach the Gospel to the *Bulgarians*. Upon their Arrival the *Latin* Missionaries all withdrew, and leaving *Bulgaria* to the *Greeks* returned to *Rome* with Bishop *Grimoald*, who had acquired immense Riches by his Apostolic Labours, during his Stay in that Country ‡.

Year of
Christ 871.

*Ignatius dis-
regarding
the Menaces
of the Pope
keeps Bul-
garia.*

Hadrian was greatly dissatisfied with the Conduct of *Grimoald*, but Death prevented him from enquiring into it. He died, according to the most probable Opinion, on the Twenty-sixth Day of *November* 872, after he had held the See Four Years, Eleven Months, and Twelve Days, and was buried in the *Vatican*. He is chiefly commended by the Writer of his Life for his Hospitality, Beneficence, and Generosity to the Poor, which, if we believe that Author, was miraculously approved by Heaven multiplying, in his Hands, the Money that he used to distribute among them *. He equalled in Ambition, perhaps in Parts too, his Predecessor *Nicholas the Great*, exercising, through the Meanness of the Patriarch *Ignatius* and by the Connivance of the Emperor, a Kind of Jurisdiction over the Rival See of *Constantinople*, but he failed as we have seen in the Attempt of disposing of Kingdoms, and subjecting the Royal to the Apostolic Authority.

Death of
Hadrian.
Year of
Christ 872.

* Apud Baron. ad ann. 871.
fil. et Anast. in Hadrian.

† See above p. 20.
‡ Guil. Bibliothec. in Hadrian.

* Porphy. in Ba-

BASILIIUS,
Emperor of
the East.

JOHN VIII.

LEWIS II.
CHARLES the Bald,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 872.
Election of
John VIII.

IN the room of *Hadrian* was chosen *John*, the Eighth of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of one *Gundo*, and at that time Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church. As the Emperor was then in *Campania*, and approved of the Election, his Deputies, who were, according to Custom, to assist at the Consecration of the new Pope, arrived in a very short Time at *Rome*; and in their Presence *John* was consecrated on the 14th of *December*, which in 872 fell on a *Sunday*, after a Vacancy of Eighteen Days^a.

The Emperor
besieged in a
Tower by the
Duke of Be-
nevento.

Year of
Christ 873.

The Emperor came to *Rome* soon after the Consecration of the Pope, and held there an Assembly of the States of *Italy* subject to the Empire. In that Assembly *Lewis* applied to the Pope, who assisted at it in Person, in order to be absolved by him from an Oath he had taken on the following Occasion. *Adalgisus*, Duke of *Benevento*, provoked at the Ravages committed by the Imperial Troops in his Territories, and much more at the haughty Behaviour of the *French* Lords, who attended the Court, resolved to be revenged on the Emperor; and he accordingly surrounded and attacked in the Night-time the Palace, where the Emperor lodged with the Empress, with his Daughter and a small Number of Attendants, during his Stay at *Benevento*. The Emperor, awaked at the Noise, flew to the Gate, but not having sufficient Force with him to defend it, he retired with his Family and his few Attendants to one of the Towers of the Place, where he defended himself with great Bravery Three whole Days. *Adalgisus*, finding that he was determined to hold out to the last Extremity, and at the same time apprehending that the *French* Troops, quartered in the neighbouring Cities, might hear of his Danger and hasten to his Rescue, resolved to set fire to the Place, and the Materials were all got ready for that Purpose. But in the mean while the Emperor, alarmed at the Danger to which he saw himself and his Family inevitably exposed, thought it adviseable to capitulate; and the following Capitulation was by him agreed and

^a Annal. Bertin. ad an. 872.

solemnly sworn to, upon Reliques brought from the Cathedral to the Palace. 1. That the Emperor should thenceforth never set foot in the Dukedom of *Benevento*. 2. That he should, upon no Colour or Pretence whatever, send, for the future, any Troops into that Dukedom. 3. That he should take no Vengeance on the Duke or the *Beneventans* for what had passed on the present Occasion, but bury the whole in eternal Oblivion ^b. From this Oath the Emperor desired to be absolved, that he might, with a safe Conscience, revenge the Affront offered by the Duke to the Imperial Dignity. The Pope declared at once, that an Oath, extorted by Force, was not binding, that the present Oath was, besides, contrary to the Welfare of the Empire, and he therefore absolved the Emperor from it in the Name of God, and, as if that were not enough, in the Name of St. *Peter*. At the same time the *Roman* Senate declared the Duke of *Benevento* a public Enemy, and War was proclaimed against him. However the Emperor, more tender-conscienced than the Pope, and not acquiescing in his Holiness's Absolution, would not head his Army in Person, but gave the Command of it to the Empress *Ingelberga*, flattering himself (an Evasion only worthy of a Jesuit) that he thus religiously observed the Oath he had taken. The Empress led the Army against the City of *Benevento*, but not being able to reduce it, and powerful Succours arriving in the mean time from the Emperor *Basilius*, with whom Duke *Adalgisus* had entered into an offensive and defensive Alliance, *Lewis* was glad to conclude a Peace with the *Beneventans*; and a Peace was accordingly concluded by the Interposition of the Pope ^c.

The following Year the Pope, leaving *Rome*, repaired to *Ravenna*; to assist at a Council, which he had appointed to meet in that City, in order to make up a Difference between *Ursus* Duke of *Venice* and the Patriarch of *Grado*. *Senator*, Bishop of *Torcellum* dying, the Clergy and People chose *Dominic*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Altena*, for his Successor. But the Patriarch refusing to ordain him, because he had made himself an Eunuch, the Duke, espousing the Cause of the Elect, intimidated the Patriarch with his Menaces to such a Degree, that not thinking himself safe at *Grado* he privately withdrew to *Rome*, and referred the Decision of the Affair to his

Year of
Christ 873.
The Emperor
capitulates,
but is absolved
by the Pope
from the Oath
he took on that
Occasion.

Year of
Christ 874.
Council of
Ravenna.

^b Annal. Bertin. et Metens. Regino. Leo Ostiens. Herembertus, &c. ^c Ibidem. ibid. et Regino ad ann. 873.

Year of
Christ 874.

Holiness. Hereupon the Pope summoned all the Bishops of that Province to meet at *Ravenna*, went thither himself with the Patriarch of *Grado*, and *Hendelmar* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and it was determined by the Council, consisting of Seventy-four Bishops, that *Dominic* should be ordained by the Patriarch ^d (A).

Death of the
Emperor
Lewis.

Year of
Christ 875.

Charles the
Bald crown-
ed Emperor
at Rome.

The following Year died at *Milan*, on the 13th, or, as others will have it, on the 14th of *August*, the Emperor *Lewis*, the Second of that Name; and upon his Death, as he left no Issue Male behind him, his Two Uncles *Lewis* of *Germany* and *Charles* of *France* laid Claim to the Empire and Kingdom of *Italy*. But *Charles*, entering *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army as soon as he heard of the Emperor's Death, and proceeding strait to *Rome*, whither he was invited by the Pope, who had declared in his Favour, he entered that City amidst the loud Acclamations of the People, and was crowned Emperor by the Pope with great Solemnity in the Church of St. *Peter* on Christmas-day, the Day on which *Charlemagne* had received the Imperial Crown in the same Church ^e. The Coronation was a mere Ceremony, and had been hitherto looked upon in no other Light. But the present Pope, in a Speech he made to the *Italian* Lords and Bishops at *Pavia*, speaks of it as if it gave an undoubted Right to the Imperial Crown, and as if he had, by crowning *Charles*, made him Emperor. For in that Speech, after extolling and commending *Charles* as much as his Predecessor *Hadrian* had abused and reviled him, he told the Assembly, that he had elected him, pursuant to the Will of God revealed to Pope *Nicholas*, and had, with all Solemnity, advanced him to the Scepter of the Empire ^f; insinuating thereby the Scepter of the Empire to be a free Gift of

^d Rubeus, Hist. Ravenn. l. v.
de Reg. Italix, l. vi.

^e Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 876.

^f Sigon.

(A) This Determination was contrary to the received Canons of the Church, forbidding any one to be ordained, who had made himself an Eunuch, or had dismembered himself in Health, as it was worded by the Fathers of *Nice* in their first Canon, nay and commanding the Person to be deposed, who should commit such a Fact after his Ordination. These Canons were made to discountenance the

mistaken Notion of some, who, misunderstanding the Words of our Saviour, *There are some that make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*, fulfilled them literally after the Example of *Origen*. The *Kalesian* Heretics thought none but Eunuchs fit to serve God, and therefore made themselves Eunuchs, as St. *Austin* informs us (1), and all who came over to them,

(1) Aug. de Hæres. c. 37.

his;

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his; and from this time forward the Popes have pretended to have a Right to elect, or at least to confirm the Election of the Emperors, reckoning the Years of their Empire, not from the Day of their Accession to the Imperial Crown, but from that of their Coronation or Consecration by the Pope.

Year of
Christ 875.

Eutropius, surnamed the *Lombard*, tells us, that *Charles*, in return for the Favours which he received on this Occasion from the Pope, made many very rich and valuable Presents to St. *Peter*; and besides yielded to the Pope the Dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spolet*, as well as the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and renounced the Right, which his Predecessors had enjoyed to that time, of confirming the Election of the Popes, and sending Deputies to assist, in his Name, at their Consecration. But several of this Pope's Letters have reached our Times, wherein he complains to *Charles* of some, who raised Disturbances in *Rome*, and entreats him to punish with Banishment or otherwise such as disturbed the public Peace in that City, the Head or Metropolis of his Empire; which was plainly acknowledging him for Sovereign of *Rome*. In the same Style did *Hadrian III.* *Stephen V.* or *VI.* and *John IX.* the Successors of the present Pope, write to the Successors of *Charles* in the Empire. As for the Dukedoms of *Benevento* and *Spoleti*, they were governed at this time, and long after the Pontificate of *John VIII.* by their own Dukes, as is manifest from History; and it is very certain that the Popes had no Kind of Power over the City and Dukedom of *Benevento* till the Beginning of the Eleventh Century or till the Year 1019, as we shall see in the Sequel. Neither did *Charles* renounce the Right of confirming the Election of the Pope, and sending Deputies to assist at his Ordination, as will appear in the Course of the present History.

Charles did
not on this
Occasion
yield to the
Pope the
Dukedom of
Benevento,
&c.

From *Rome* *Charles* repaired together with the Pope to *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, and was in a Diet held there acknowledged Emperor by the *Italian* Lords and Bishops; and according to Custom crowned King of *Italy* by the Archbishop of *Milan*. In this Diet the Emperor declared *Boso*, Brother to his Wife *Richilda*, Duke of *Lombardy*, gave him a Ducal Crown, and appointed him to govern, as his Lieutenant or Commissary, the *Italian* Dominions appertaining to the Imperial Crown^b. From *Pavia* the Emperor returned to *France*, where his Election, and the Acts of the Diet of *Pavia* were con-

He is crown-
ed King of
Italy at Pa-
via.

Year of
Christ 876.

^a Johan. ep. 21. 23. 26. 31.

^b Annal. Fuld. Metens. et Bertin.

firmed.

Year of
Christ 876.

Council of
Pontion.

The Archbi-
shop of Sens
appointed by
the Pope
Primate of
all France.

firmed in a Council held at *Pontion*, at which presided the Pope's Legates *John* Bishop of *Tuscanella*, and *John* of *Arezzo*, and were present Six Archbishops, and Forty-three Bishops. In this Council was read by *Odo*, Bishop of *Beauvais*, a Letter, which the Emperor had procured from the Pope, appointing *Ansegisus* Archbishop of *Sens*, Primate of all *France* and *Germany* on the *French* Side of the *Rhine*. The Bishops, greatly surprised at the Contents of the Letter, desired to read it themselves, since it was addressed to them. That the Emperor, who was present, would not allow, but insisted on their declaring their Sentiments concerning it. The Bishops then answered, that they were ready to obey so far as was consistent with the Rights of the Metropolitans, with the Canons, and with the Decrees of the Apostolic See. The Emperor and the Legates, not satisfied with this Answer, pressed the Bishops, but could by no means prevail upon them to approve of *Ansegisus's* Primacy, without Limitation or Restriction. *Fritarius* alone, who had been translated from *Bourdeaux* to *Poitiers*, and now wanted to exchange *Poitiers* for *Bourges*, returned a satisfactory Answer, acknowledging the Primacy of the Archbishop of *Sens* without any Regard to the Right of the Metropolitans, to the Canons, or to the Decrees of the Apostolic See. But the Emperor was determined to carry his Point notwithstanding the Opposition of the other Bishops; and therefore delivering to *Ansegisus* the Pope's Letter commissioning him to hold his Place in this Council, he ordered him to be seated on a Chair at the Left Hand of *John* of *Tuscanella* one of the Legates, but above all the Bishops on this Side the *Alps*. The *Gallican* Bishops loudly protested against this Innovation; and *Hincmar* of *Reims* published a Treatise to show, that it was repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*, and inconsistent with the Privileges granted by preceding Popes to that See. But the Pope, glad to oblige the Emperor, supported the new Primate in his Dignity without any Regard either to the Canons or to the Decrees of his Predecessors; so that *Ansegisus* enjoyed it to the Hour of his Death: And so great was the Power attending it, that he was stiled in *France* and *Germany* another Popeⁱ.

Sentence pro-
nounced by
the Pope
against
Formosus
Bishop of
Porto.

While the Council was yet sitting, *Leo* Bishop of *Gabii*, the Pope's Nephew, and *Peter* Bishop of *Fossombrone* arrived at *Pontion* with a Copy of the Sentence, that had been pronounced by the Pope,

ⁱ Odorann. in Chronic. Natal. Alexand. sec. ix. et x. Part i. c. v. Gerard Dubois in Hist. Parif. l. 8. c. i.

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in a Council held at *Rome*, against *Formosus* Bishop of *Porto*, *Gregory* Nomenclator of the *Roman* Church, *George* his Son-in-law, and their Accomplices. They were charged with many heinous Crimes, and among the rest with conspiring against the Emperor as well as against the Pope; and being summoned to appear and take their Trials, instead of complying with the Summons they had privately withdrawn from *Rome*. The following Sentence was therefore pronounced by the Pope against *Formosus*, and approved by the Council. *Formosus* Bishop of *Porto*, formerly sent into *Bulgaria* by Pope *Nicholas* of blessed Memory, having artfully insinuated himself into the Favour of the newly baptized King, prevailed upon him to bind himself with dreadful Oaths never to receive another Bishop from the Apostolic See so long as he lived; and he in his turn bound himself by the like Oaths to return to the King as soon as he possibly could, and with that view, obtained Leave of us with Letters and whatever else was necessary for his Journey. He has, besides, prompted by his boundless Ambition, been long caballing to raise himself from a smaller to a greater Church, even to the Apostolic See, has abandoned his own Diocese without our Leave or Knowledge, and conspired with his Accomplices against the Safety of the Republic, and of our beloved Son *Charles*, whom we have chosen and consecrated Emperor. If he does not therefore personally appear, and satisfy us in the Term of Ten Days, that is, by the Twenty-ninth of *April* of the present Indiction, we declare him deprived, by the Authority of God and his holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, of all ecclesiastical Communion. If he does not appear within the Space of Twenty Days, that is, by the Ninth of *May*; if in the mean time he raises any Disturbance in the Church, or cavils at this our Sentence, let him be anathematized without Hopes of Absolution ^k. This Letter was read in the Sixth Session of the Council of *Positum*, and the Sentence against *Formosus* confirmed by all the Bishops of that Assembly. Of this Bishop we shall have Occasion to speak in the Sequel, and shall even see him raised to the Pontifical Throne.

Year of
Christ 876.

Charge
brought a-
gainst him.

In the last Session of the present Council the Empress *Richilda* ^{Richilda introduced to the Council} was presented to the Bishops by the Two Bishops, *John* of *Tuscanella* and *Peter* of *Fassombrone*, in her Imperial Robes, with ^{and saluted} a Crown on her Head, and being placed on a Throne close to that ^{Empress.}

^k Joana. ep. 319.

Year of
Chrſt 876.

*The Emperor
complains to
the Pope of
the Abuse of
Appeals to
Rome.*

of the Emperor's, ſhe was by the whole Aſſembly with loud Acclamations ſaluted Empreſs.

As the Abuse of Appeals to *Rome* began now univerſally to prevail in the *Gallican* Churches, not only Biſhops, but Priests and the Reſt of the inferior Clergy, appealing to the Pope from the Judgment given in the Provinces, the Emperor, at the Requeſt of the Biſhops of the preſent Council, wrote, or rather ordered *Hincmar* to write in his Name, to the Pope, and repreſent to his Holineſs the evil Conſequences neceſſarily attending ſo pernicious a Practice. In that Letter *Hincmar*, after ſhewing that ſuch a Practice, if encouraged, would entirely ſubvert all eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and render the Authority of Biſhops quite precarious, quotes the Canons of *Sardica*, on which the Popes grounded their Right of receiving Appeals, and proves from thoſe very Canons, that Biſhops are to be judged only upon the Spot, and that Priests are only allowed to appeal to their Metropolitans, or to the Biſhops of the Province. In the Cloſe of his Letter he entreats the Pope to conform to thoſe Canons, ſince many Offenders would otherwiſe eſcape the Punishment due to their Offences, as few Biſhops would care to ſend to *Rome* Deputies, Witneſſes, and the Acts of their Proceedings, to maintain the Judgment they had given againſt every Clerk, whom they had condemned.

*Several Pro-
vinces in Ita-
ly over-run
by the Sara-
cens.*

While theſe Things paſſed in *France*, the Southern Provinces of *Italy* were over-run, and dreadfully harraſſed by the *Saracens*. The late Emperor had gained ſeveral Victories over them, and ſhut them up in *Taranto*. But upon his Death, having nobody to oppoſe them, they made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Places, ſpreading every-where Slaughtering and Deſtruction; which obliged the neighbouring Dukes, not able to make Head againſt them with their own Forces, to ſue for a Peace. The *Saracens* inſiſted, and would hearken to no other Terms, upon their entering into an Alliance with them, and marching with their united Forces againſt the Dukedom of *Rome*, and *Rome* itſelf. The Pope, apprized of this Alliance, ſpared no Pains, no Promiſes, nor Threats, to prevail on thoſe Princes to break it off. *Guaiferius*, Prince of *Salerno*, not only quitted the *Saracens* through Fear of the Excommunication with which he was threatened,

*The Duke of
Naples joins
the Saracens.*

but marched, at the Requeſt of the Pope, againſt the *Neapolitans*, who obſtinately adhered to the Alliance, which they had entered into with the common Enemy, defeated them and made Twenty-two of

them Prisoners, whom the Pope ordered to be put to Death¹. *Sergius*, Duke of *Naples* fared not much better, for as he continued to act in concert with the *Saracens*, notwithstanding the Excommunication thundered out by the Pope against him, and the *Neapolitans* in general, his Brother *Athanasius*, Bishop of that City, treacherously seized him, and having put out his Eyes, sent him thus deprived of his Sight to *Rome*^m. The Pope, highly pleased with the Present, wrote a Letter to the Bishop, wherein he extolls his Zeal for the Welfare of the Church, in not sparing his own Brother, agreeably to that of our Saviour, *he that loveth Father or Mother* (the Pope adds, or Brother) *more than me, is not worthy of me*ⁿ; compares him to *Judith* cutting off the Head of *Holofernes*, and promises to send him, by way of Reward for so good and so meritorious a Work, the Sum of 1500 Mancusæ, a very considerable Sum in those Days^o. The Pope did not, it seems, recollect the Admonition of *St. Paul*, that a Bishop should be *no Striker*^p. He wrote at the same time to the People of *Naples* to thank them for joining the Bishop against the Duke his Brother, whom he styles *the Man of Sin*, an Enemy to God, the Tyrant of his People, and a Rebel to the *Roman Church*^q. The Bishop, encouraged by the Pope, took upon him the Government of the Dukedom, and thus became both Duke and Bishop. It was this he had in his View in removing his Brother, who died in great Misery at *Rome*, out of the Way: And he accordingly no sooner found himself firmly established in his Government, than, treading in the Footsteps of his Brother, he joined the *Saracens*, committed most dreadful Ravages in the neighbouring Provinces, made frequent Inroads into the Dukedom of *Rome*, and threw the City itself into the utmost Confusion. Hereupon the Pope solemnly excommunicated and anathematized him and all his Followers. But as he paid no more Regard to the Papal Thunders than he had done to the Ties of Blood and Nature, *John* was obliged to recur to the Emperor; and he wrote most pressing Letters to *Charles*, entreating him to hasten to the Relief of his Dominions in *Italy*, and of *Rome* itself, in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of the sworn Enemies of the Christian Name. But *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, dying in the mean time at *Franckfort*, the Emperor, more desirous of extending his Dominions on the *Rhine* than

Year of
Christ 876.

The Bishop
of Naples his
Brother trea-

cherously
seizes him,
puts out his
Eyes, and
sends him
to Rome.

Is highly
commended
that Account
by the Pope.

The Bishop
takes upon
him the Go-
vernment and
joins the Sa-
racens.

The Pope
excommu-
nicates him
and presses
the Emperor
to hasten to
its Relief.

¹ Erchamp. num. 39.
ep. 66.

^m Leo Ostien.
P 1 Tim. iii. 3.

ⁿ Mat. x. 37.
^q Johan. ep. 67.

^o Johan.

Year of
Christ 876.

defending those in *Italy*, marched, upon the First News of his Brother's Death, at the Head of a powerful Army against *Lewis*, the deceased King's Second Son, to whose Lot *Germany* had fallen. But the young Prince meeting him, when he least expected it, with an Army not half so numerous as his, gave him a total Overthrow, cut the far greater Part of his choicest Troops in pieces, and obliged him to leave all his Baggage behind him and save himself by a precipitate Flight.

The Election
of Charles
confirmed in
a Council at
Rome.

Year of
Christ 877.

The Emperor, apprehending that *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria*, the eldest Son of the late King, might improve this Defeat to his Advantage, and lay Claim to the Imperial Crown, dispatched *Adalgarius*, Bishop of *Autun* to *Rome*, with Letters to the Pope, excusing his not sending him the promised Succours, and at the same time intreating him to convene a Council of as many Bishops as he could possibly assemble, and get his Election to the Empire confirmed by them. The Council was assembled with all Speed, and opened by the Pope with a most fulsome Panegyric upon *Charles*, as if his Promotion had been revealed to Pope *Nicholas*, and he had used no indirect Means to attain the Imperial Dignity, but had been called to it, and freely chosen by the Bishops and the *Roman* People. He therefore exhorted the Bishops to confirm their own Election, that the World might see they did not repent the Choice they had made. To this they all agreed, and by the whole Assembly all, who should dispute or oppose the Election of *Charles*, were excommunicated, anathematized, and cursed, as Disturbers of the public Peace, as Ministers of the Devil, and Enemies to God and his Church. This Council was held in *July* 877, and *Adalgarius* of *Autun* was dispatched with a Copy of the Acts to the Emperor.

The Emperor
marches to
the Assistance
of the Pope;

As the *Saracens* in the mean time pursued their Ravages without Check or Controul, burning Churches, destroying Cities, Towns, and Villages, and either putting to the Sword, or carrying into Captivity the helpless Inhabitants, the Pope dispatched Messengers after Messengers to the Emperor, pressing him in the Name of the Bishops, Priests, Nobles, and the unhappy People, who had not yet fallen into the Hands of their merciless Enemies, to hasten to their Relief, and rescue the Church, that had raised him to the Empire.

* Annal. Fuld. Metenf. et Bertin. ad ann. 876, & 877.
c. Gall.

* Tom. viii. Con-

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in Preference to his Brother, from impending Slavery and Oppression. The Emperor, thus pressed by the Pope's Letters, and more by his Two Legates *Peter* Bishop of *Fossombrone* and *Peter* Bishop of *Sinigaglia*, sent by his Holiness to represent to him, by Word of Mouth, the deplorable Condition which his *Italian* Dominions were reduced to, resolved at length to march with an Army into *Italy*. He set out accordingly in the Month of *July* of the present Year, with a small Number of Troops, ordering his Generals to follow him with the main Body of the Army. On his Arrival at *Orba* on the other Side Mount *Jura*, he was met by *Adalgarius*, who delivered to him a Copy of the Acts of the Council confirming his Election, and at the same time informed him, that his Holiness intended to meet him at *Pavia*. But the Emperor found him at *Ver-*
celli, and from thence proceeded with him to *Pavia*. They had not been long there when Advice was brought, that *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria*, was advancing at the Head of a powerful Army to ascertain the Right he claimed to the Imperial Crown, as the eldest Son of the elder Brother. This Intelligence alarmed the Emperor, and as he had but very few Troops with him, he left *Pavia* in great Haste, and repassing the *Po* retired to *Tortona*, where *Richilda*, who attended her Husband, was crowned Empress by the Pope.

Year of
Christ 877.

who meets
him at Ver-
celli;

and crowns
Richilda
Empress at
Tortona.

The Emperor and the Pope passed a few Days together at *Tortona*, waiting for the Troops, that *Charles* had ordered to follow him into *Italy*. But he waited in vain; and was soon informed, that the Generals, whom he had trusted with the Command of the Forces, had kept them at home and conspired against him. Hereupon leaving *Tortona* in as great Haste as he had done *Pavia*, he fled into *Morienne*, whither the Empress had withdrawn with all his Treasures upon the News of the Approach of *Carloman*. It is remarkable, that while *Charles* was flying back to *France* upon the News of the Approach of *Carloman*, *Carloman* was flying back to *Bavaria* upon a false Report spread amongst his Troops, that the Emperor and the Pope were coming at the Head of a numerous Army to give him Battle. From *Tortona* the Pope returned to *Rome*. But the Emperor died on his Way to *France*, being poisoned by his Physician, a Jew named *Sedecias*, in whom he had ever placed an entire Confidence. The Physician is supposed to have been bribed by the Conspirators to administer the Poison of which he died: We do not at least find that he was punished for it. Be that as it will,

The Emperor
dies of Poison
administered
to him by his
Physician..

the

Year of
Christ 877.

the Emperor died at *Brios*, a small Village on this Side of Mount *Cenis*, Eleven Days after he had taken the poisonous Potion, that is, on the Sixth of *October* 877, in the Second Year of his Empire, the Thirty-eighth of his Reign, and the Fifty-fourth of his Age ^t.

Council of
Ravenna.

A great Council was held this Year in the City of *Ravenna*, at which the Pope presided in Person, and were present no fewer than 130 Bishops. This Council is said in the Acts to have been convened by *Apostolic Authority and the Command of the Emperor Charles*; whence it is plain that it was not held after, as some have writ, but before his Death. The Pope mentions that Assembly in several of his Letters ^u; but only Nineteen Canons issued by it have reached our Time; and they are calculated to restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, greatly decayed in the *Italian* Provinces ^w.

The Pope agrees to pay a yearly Tribute to the Saracens.

The News of the Emperor's Death threw the Pope and the *Romans* into the utmost Confusion. The *Saracens*, now Masters of a Fortress upon the Borders of the *Roman* Dukedom, delivered up to them by *Docibilis*, Duke of *Gaeta*, made daily Inroads to the very Gates of *Rome*. On the other hand the Pope, having disoblged *Carloman* and the other Princes by his Partiality for *Charles*, could expect no Relief from them. In this Extremity he resolved to treat with the *Saracens*, and he accordingly agreed to pay them a yearly Tribute of 25,000 Mancusæ, upon Condition they committed no Hostilities in the *Roman* Dukedom, nor made any Attempt upon the City of *Rome* ^x. The *Saracens* faithfully observed the Articles of the Treaty. But *Lambert*, Duke of *Spoleti*, and *Adalbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, who had both been excommunicated by the Pope for usurping some Lands that belonged to the *Roman* Church, entering *Rome* in a hostile Manner, seized on the Pope and confined him, plundered the City, and obliged the *Romans* to take an Oath of Allegiance to *Carloman* as King of *Italy* ^y.

Rome plundered by the Duke of Spoleti and the Pope confined.

The Pope upon his Retreat repairs to France.

Year of
Christ 878.

Upon their Retreat from *Rome* they set the Pope at Liberty, who after thundering out dreadful Curses against them, left *Rome*, and embarking at *Ostia* fled by Sea to *France*, not doubting but he should be well received there by *Lewis*, surnamed the *Stammerer*, who had succeeded the Emperor *Charles*, his Father, in that Kingdom. He landed at *Arles* on Whitsunday, which in 878 fell on

^t Annal. Bertin. p. 300.

^u Epist. 53, 5, 56, 57, 59, 60.

^x Johan. ep. 89.

^y Idem, ep. 84, 85.

^w Tom. ix. Concil.

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the Eleventh of *May*, and was from thence attended by Duke *Boso*, and his Wife *Hermengarda* to *Lions*. From *Lions* he dispatched Legates to *Tours* to acquaint the King, who lay indisposed in that City, with his Arrival in his Dominions, and his Intention of assembling a Council there, as he could not safely convene one in *Italy*. The King appointed some Bishops to wait on his Holiness in his Name, to conduct him to *Troies*, the most proper Place for the Council to meet at, and to defray his Expences on the Road. *Baronius* writes, that the Pope, during his Stay at *Lions*, granted the Pall to *Rostagnus* Archbishop of that City, and besides declared him, at the Request of *Boso*, Vicar of the Apostolic See in *France*. It is indeed said in the Letters quoted by *Baronius* as Pope John's, viz. in the 93d, 94th, and 95th, that he appointed the Archbishop of *Lions* his Vicar and Representative in *Gaul*. But *Natalis Alexander* has proved, beyond Contradiction, those Letters to be forged.

Year of
Christ 878.

The Pope had invited to his Council all the Bishops of *France* and *Lombardy*, and likewise *Lewis* of *France*, as well as the Three Sons of the late King of *Germany*, *Carloman*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*. But Thirty Bishops only complied with the Invitation, and not one of the Princes but *Lewis* of *France*, in whose Kingdom the Council was assembled. The Bishops met, for the First time, on the Thirteenth of *August*, when a Speech was read in the Pope's Name, laying before them the Outrages committed in *Rome* by *Lambert*, Duke of *Spoleti*, and the unworthy Treatment he had met with at his Hands. The Pope informed them, that he had excommunicated the Duke and his Accomplices in the Church of St. *Peter*, and desired they would not only confirm his Sentence, but add their Anathemas to his, and cause them to be published by their Suffragans in all the Churches. To this the Bishops readily agreed, and *Lambert* was again and again anathematized by the whole Assembly. At the same time the Sentence against *Formosus* of *Porto* was confirmed, and he with his Accomplices the Third time excommunicated, degraded, and anathematized, the Bishops declaring all with one Voice, that they condemned those, whom the Holy See condemned, and received those, whom the Holy See received.

Council of
Troies.

The Duke of
Spoleti anathematized in
that Council,
and with him:
Formosus of
Porto.

Hincmar of *Laon*, of whom I have spoken above, appearing unexpectedly at this Council, presented a Memorial to the Pope.

Hincmar of
Laon kindly
treated by the
Pope and Bi-
shops of the
Council.

* Natal. Alex. sect. 9. et 10. c. i. art. 11.

com.

Year of
Christ 878.

complaining of the hard Treatment he had met with, especially from his Uncle *Hincmar* of *Reims*, notwithstanding his Appeal to *Rome*. He had been condemned, excommunicated, and degraded, by the Council of *Douzi*, in the Pontificate of *Hadrian*, as has been related above; and the Emperor *Charles*, while he was at *Rome*, had prevailed upon the present Pope to confirm the Judgment of that Council, and suffer another Bishop to be chosen in the Room of *Hincmar*. The unhappy Bishop, as he was a Man of a most restless Temper, had been kept closely confined after his Condemnation; and the King, to prevent his being ever reinstated in his See, had after Two Years Confinement ordered his Eyes to be put out. In this Condition he appeared before the Pope and the Council, begging they would judge his Cause anew according to the Canons and the Decrees of the Apostolic See. The Pope had confirmed the Sentence of the Council of *Douzi*, had approved the Election of *Hedenulfus* in the Room of *Hincmar*, and could not, therefore, allow the Cause to be re-examined. However touched with Compassion he took off the Excommunication, granted the deposed Bishop Leave to sing Mass, and, with the Consent and Approbation of the King, allotted Part of the Revenues of the Bishopric of *Laon* for his Maintenance. Hereupon the Bishops, among whom were some Metropolitans who befriended blind *Hincmar*, restoring to him his sacerdotal Habit, presented him in that Attire to the Pope, and afterwards made him give the sacerdotal Benediction to the People ^a.

Some Canons
of this Council.

Several Canons were issued by the present Council, and this, amongst the rest, worthy of particular Notice, that the higher Powers should pay that Respect to Bishops which was due to their Dignity and the Rank they held in the Church, and that no Man should presume to sit in the Presence of a Bishop unless he commanded it. The Pope and the Bishops, at the Request of the King, excommunicated *Bernard*, Marquis of *Languedoc*, *Hugh*, the Son of *Lotharius* late King of *Lorraine* by *Waldrada*, and some others, as Disturbers of the public Peace, and Enemies to the State.

Lewis
crowned
King by the
Pope;

Lewis had been crowned, upon the Death of his Father, by *Hincmar* of *Reims*; but he nevertheless desired to be crowned anew by the Pope; and his Holiness accordingly performed the Ce-

^a Concil. Gall. tom. iii. p. 421, 422. Annal. Bertin.

emony

remony with great Solemnity while the Council was yet sitting, that is on the Seventh of *September* of the present Year 878. Some Writers, and *Baronius* among the rest, will have *Lewis* to have been, on this Occasion, crowned Emperor. But that Opinion is now universally exploded, the contrary being manifest from several Letters written by the Pope after that Ceremony, especially from the 82d to *Lewis* and *Carloman*, the Sons of King *Lewis*, wherein he styles *Charles* Emperor of blessed Memory, and gives no other Title to his Son *Lewis* than that of King ^b. But this Point is cleared up, beyond all Doubt, by a Charter, that was granted by *Lewis* to the Church of *Nevers*, Three Days after the Ceremony of the Coronation, and is still extant. For in that Charter he only styles himself *Lewis by the Grace of God, King* ^c. The Pope refused to crown *Adelaida* the Queen for Reasons unknown to us, nor could he by any means be prevailed upon to perform that Ceremony. As *Lewis* had been obliged by his Father to put away his first Wife *Ansgarda*, by whom he had *Lewis* and *Carloman*, and marry *Adelaida* in her room, some are of Opinion that the Pope looked upon that Marriage as unlawful, and therefore would not crown the Queen. But that is mere Conjecture, no Notice being taken by any of the contemporary Writers, which is somewhat surprising, of the Motives that restrained the Pope from complying with the earnest and repeated Intreaties of the King, whom he was so willing to oblige on every other Occasion.

Year of
Christ 878.

who could not
be prevailed
upon to crown
the Queen.

The Pope closed the Council on the Tenth of *September* 878, with a Speech addressed to the King and the Bishops. He exhorted the King to employ his Arms, as his Predecessors had done, against the Enemies of God and his Church, and the Bishops to arm their Vassals with all possible Speed and send them with him into *Italy* to protect the Holy *Roman* Church against the *Saracens*, and the Christians, more wicked than them, who had joined them. He begged the King, and likewise the Bishops, to return, without Delay, a positive Answer to this his Request; but from History it does not appear that either did; and the Pope was attended into *Italy* only by Duke *Boso* and his Wife *Hermengarda*, with whose obliging Behaviour he was so

The Pope's
Speech at the
Close of the
Council.

^b Joan. VIII. 71, 82, &c.

^c Sirmond. in not. ad Concil. Trecent.

Year of well pleased, that on his Arrival at *Pavia* he adopted the Duke for
 Christ 878. his Son ^d.

The Pope
 sends Legates
 into the East
 for the reco-
 vering of
 Bulgaria.

The deplorable State to which *Italy* was reduced at this Time and
Rome itself, did not divert the Pope from attending to the Affairs of
 the East. As the Patriarch *Ignatius* continued, notwithstanding the
 Menaces of the late Pope, to keep Possession of *Bulgaria*, and to send
Greek Bishops and other Missionaries to preach the Gospel there, *John*
 dispatched, this Year, into the East, *Paul* Bishop of *Ancona*, and *Eu-
 gene* Bishop of *Ostia*, with Letters to *Ignatius*, to the *Greek* Bishops
 and Clergy in *Bulgaria*, and to *Michael* King of that Country. In
 his Letter to the Patriarch he commands him to recall, in a Month's
 Time, all the *Greek* Bishops, Priests, and Missionaries, and to re-
 nounce all Jurisdiction over the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, on pain of
 being excluded from the Participation of the Body and Blood of our
 Lord, and being deprived of the Patriarchal Dignity, if he did not
 obey that Command of the Apostolic See within the Term of Two
 Months. In his Letter to the *Greek* Bishops and Clergy he declares
 them excommunicated, and suspended from all ecclesiastical Functions
 if they quit not the Country within a Month. He exhorts the King,
 in his Letters to him, to drive out the *Greeks*, lest he should be in-
 fected with the Heresies that frequently prevail among them ^e. The
 Legates were charged to represent to the Emperor, by Word of
 Mouth, the dreadful Ravages committed by the *Saracens* in *Italy*,
 and implore his Assistance.

Death of the
 Patriarch
 Ignatius.

Ignatius died before the Legates arrived at *Constantinople*, and, to
 their great Surprize, they found *Photius* placed anew in the Patri-
 archal Chair. As he was a Man of most uncommon Parts and great
 Address, he had regained the Favour of the Emperor in the Life-time
 of the deceased Patriarch, and was therefore suffered to seize on the

Photius re-
 stored and ac-
 knowledged
 by the Pope's
 Legates.

Patriarchal See the Moment it became vacant. The Two Legates
 refused at first to acknowledge him; but they were soon persuaded
 by the Emperor to own him for lawful Patriarch, and *Photius*, who
 well knew how to deal with the *Roman* Legates, prevailed upon
 them with rich Presents publicly to declare, that the Pope, hearing
 of his Promotion, had sent them to approve and confirm it. Thus
 did he impose upon most of the Metropolitans and other Bishops,

^a Johan. VIII. ep. 119.

^e Id. ibid. ep. 75, 76, 77.

who

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who had hitherto sided with the Two preceding Popes against him; and in order to impose upon the Pope himself he assured him in a Letter, which he wrote on this Occasion, that he had long withstood the Prayers of the Bishops, and even the Commands of the Emperor, but had, in the End, been forced to yield, and resume, which he did with the utmost Reluctance, the Patriarchal Dignity. He got the Bishops to sign this Letter, pretending that it was the Deed of a Purchase, which was to be kept secret; and when they had all signed it, his Secretary, named *Peter*, stole their Seals away, and set them to it, and for this Piece of Knavery *Photius* preferred him soon after to the Metropolitan See of *Sardis*. With this Letter thus signed and sealed *Photius* dispatched to *Rome* one *Theodore*, who had been ordained by him, during his Exile, Metropolitan of *Pathmi*, a City that never existed; and he was therefore stiled by Way of Derision Bishop of *Aphantopolis*, that is, of the invisible City.

Year of
Christ 878.

*Writes to
the Pope.*

At the same time the Emperor *Basilus* sent a solemn Embassy to the Pope, recommending *Photius* to his Favour in the strongest Terms, and representing his Restoration as the only possible Means of restoring Peace and Tranquility to the Church and State. The Embassadors arrived at *Rome* in the Beginning of *April* 879, were received by the Pope with extraordinary Marks of Respect and Esteem, and, what greatly surprised the whole Church, obtained at once his Consent to the Restoration of *Photius* so often excommunicated, and anathematized by his Two immediate Predecessors *Nicholas* and *Hadrian*. This appears from the Letter he wrote and sent by the Embassadors on their Return to *Constantinople*, in Answer to that, which he had received from the Emperor. For in that Letter he tells *Basilus*, that, *Ignatius* being dead, he, at his Request, allows *Photius* to exercise the Episcopal Functions, though he had reassumed them without the Consent or Knowledge of the Apostolic See, that had suspended him from them; that he receives him as a Bishop, as a Brother, as a Colleague; and that, relying on the extensive and unlimited Power granted to him in the Person of St. *Peter*, he absolves him from all ecclesiastical Censure, as well as all Bishops, Priests, Clerks, and Laymen, who had incurred any on his Account. However the Pope insisted on the following Terms or Conditions, *viz.* that *Photius* should, in a full Council, ask Pardon for his past Conduct; that in time to come no Layman should be preferred to the Patriarchal See; and, what was the most important

*The Emperor
Basilus re-
commends
him to the
Pope.*

Year of
Christ 879.

*Who absolves
him from the
Excommuni-
cation and
receives him
as his Col-
league.*

Year of
Christ 879.

Upon Condi-
tion of his
renouncing
all Claim to
Bulgaria.

The Pope's
Letter in
Answer to
that of Pho-
tius.

Article of all, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* should renounce all Kind of Jurisdiction over the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*. The Pope closed his Letter with declaring all excommunicated, who, after the Third Admonition, should refuse to communicate with the Holy Patriarch *Photius*, should give Ear to any Calumnies against him, or look upon him in any other Light than that of their spiritual Guide, and Mediator between God and them ^f.

The Pope, in his Answer to *Photius's* Letter, acknowledges him for lawful Successor to the deceased Patriarch of blessed Memory; exhorts him to forget past Injuries, to gain over by gentle Means such as may still oppose his Restoration; and earnestly entreats him to get those, who have been banished, recalled from Exile, and re-instated in their respective Dignities. The Pope wrote likewise to the Bishops under the immediate Jurisdiction of the See of *Constantinople*, and to those subject to the other Three Patriarchal Sees, to acquaint them with the Restoration of *Photius*, which, he says, he had agreed to at their Request, *Photius* having forged Letters to that Purpose in their Names. It is to be observed that, in the Time of the preceding Pope, the whole Body of the *Roman* Clergy, and *John* among the rest, he being then Archdeacon of that Church, bound themselves by a solemn Oath never to consent to the Restoration of *Photius*, but ever to look upon his Ordination as void and null. But *John* was, on the one Hand, under dreadful Apprehensions from the Neighbourhood of the *Saracens*; who had seized on some strong Holds adjoining to the *Roman* Dukedom: On the other none of the Christian Princes, besides the Emperor of the East, were at this time in a Condition to afford him any Assistance or Relief; and therefore, sacrificing all other Views to his own Safety, he did not scruple, in order to gain his Favour at so critical a Juncture, not only to reverse the Decrees of his Predecessors, as well as those of a General Council, but to break the solemn Oath he had taken (B).

^f Johan. ep. 199.

(B) *Baronius* thinks that *John*, on account of the Cowardice and Pusillanimity which he betrayed on this Occasion, was universally looked upon not as a Man, but a Woman, that by some he might have been called so, and that from thence the Fable of Pope *Joan* probably took its Rise. But the Annalist did not; it seems, reco-

lest that this Fable was not heard of till long after the Time of *John VIII.* that is, till the latter End of the Thirteenth Century, and that the She Pope was placed by the Inventor of it between *Leo IV.* and *Benedict III.* about the Middle of the Ninth Century.

The

The Imperial Embassadors left *Rome* in the Month of *August* of the present Year; and with them the Pope dispatched into the East *Peter* Cardinal Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, adding him to the Two Legates, *Paul* and *Eugene*, whom he had sent thither the preceding Year. He brought with him a Letter from the Pope to the Two Legates directing them how to proceed in the Affair of *Photius*. They were ordered in the First Place to wait upon the Emperor with their new Collegue, and let him know, that his Holiness had sent them, at his Request, to reinstate the holy Patriarch *Photius* in his former Dignity. In the next Place they were to visit *Photius* himself, and acquaint him that the Pope acknowledged him for his Brother and his Collegue, but only upon the Conditions mentioned above; *Photius* promised to fulfill those Conditions; and a numerous Council being thereupon assembled, the Legates restored to him, in the Presence of the Bishops who composed it, the Ensigns of the Patriarchal Dignity, declared him lawful Patriarch of the Imperial City, and besides, of their own Authority pronounced all deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized, who should thenceforth refuse to acknowledge him, or should receive any of the Councils that had condemned him. The present Council consisted of no fewer than 380 Bishops, the Emperor was present in Person, with his Two Sons, *Constantine* and *Leo*; and the Three Legates, gained over with rich Presents by *Photius*, allowed him to preside at it with them. The First Session was held in *November* 879, and the last in *March* 880. The Greeks condemn and reject to this Day the Council held under *Hadrian*, and receive this, that condemned it, for the Eighth General Council.

The Three Legates upon their Return to *Rome* took Care to conceal from the Pope their having condemned the Eighth General Council, and with it all the Councils that had condemned *Photius*. They only told him, that, pursuant to their Instructions, they had replaced *Photius* on the Patriarchal Throne; that his Restoration was approved by a very numerous Council assembled for that Purpose; that an End was, by that means, put to all Disturbances in the Eastern Churches; that the Patriarch had ordered all the Greek Priests to be recalled from *Bulgaria*; and lastly, that the Emperor would soon send a Fleet to protect the Coasts of *Italy*, especially of the *Roman* Dukedom against the *Saracens*. But the Pope was soon informed of the Prevarication of his Three Legates, and having thereupon deposed them, he declared all they had done void and null,

Year of
Christ 880.

Photius ex-communicat-
ed anew.
Marinus
sent into the
East annulls
the Acts of
the Council
of Constantinople.

Year of
Christ 881.

Charles the
Groß is
crowned Em-
peror, but
lends the
Pope no As-
sistance a-
gainst the Sa-
racens.

null, excommunicated all, who should receive the late Council held at *Constantinople*, or communicate with the Usurper *Photius*, and dispatched, without Delay, *Marinus*, Deacon of the *Roman Church*, to *Constantinople*, with Orders to protest against the Proceedings of the Council lately convened there, and declare them null. This Commission *Marinus* executed with the greatest Firmness and Intrepidity, which so provoked the Emperor *Basilus*, that he ordered him to be imprisoned, and kept closely confined. But finding that he was neither to be gained with Promises, nor terrified with Menaces, he set him at Liberty after 30 Days Confinement, and sent him back to *Rome*^b. The Pope informed by him of the Proceedings of the Council under *Photius*, confirmed, with great Solemnity, the Acts of the Councils, that his Two Predecessors *Nicholas* and *Hadrian* had convened against him, and condemned him anew in a Council he assembled for that Purpose^h.

As to the State of Affairs at this Time in the West, *Carloman* King of *Bavaria*, the eldest Son of *Lewis* late King of *Germany*, entering *Italy* at the Head of a numerous Army upon the First News of the Death of his Uncle *Charles the Bald*, was there received, and acknowledged by the *Italian* Lords and Bishops King of *Lombardy*. But he held not long his new Kingdom, being driven out of *Italy* by his younger Brother *Charles* surnamed *the Grofs*. *Carloman* died soon after; and as he left no Issue, the States of *Bavaria* chose his Second Brother *Lewis* for their King, who, to prevent *Charles* from disturbing him in the Possession of that Kingdom, renounced in his Favour all Claim to the Kingdom of *Lombardy* and the Title of Emperor. The Pope had not yet declared for either of these Princes; but he no sooner heard of this Agreement between them, than he wrote to *Charles*, offering him the Imperial Crown, and pressing him to come to *Rome* and receive it. He even went as far as *Ravenna* to meet him. But the State of his Affairs in *France* obliged that Prince to repass the *Alps*, and put off his Journey to *Rome*, till the latter End of the Year 880, when he was crowned with great Solemnity by the Pope in the Church of *St. Peter* on Christmas-dayⁱ (C). But the new Emperor shewed no Inclination

^b Epist. Steph. V. apud Bar. ad ann. 885.
^{viii.} ⁱ Regino, Annal. Metens. &c.

^a Epist. Formos. in Actis Synod.

(C) *Baronius* supposes this Ceremony to have been performed in 881, not aware that *Regino*, *Sigebert*, *Hermannus Contrac-*

tus, and the *Annalist* of *Metz*, whom he follows therein, reckon Christmas-day the First Day of the Year.

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to employ his Troops against the *Saracens*, nor did the Pope, so long as he lived, receive from him the least Assistance, though he frequently pressed him, and likewise the Empress *Richilda*, to rescue the Capital of his Empire from imminent Slavery and utter Ruin.

Year of
Christ 881.

As the Emperor, diverted at this Time by other Wars, was not in a Condition, had he been ever so willing, to redeem his *Italian* Dominions from the Ravages of the *Saracens*, the Pope spared no Pains, no Promises, no Anathemas to gain over such of the *Italian* Princes as had joined them, and prevail upon them to enter into an offensive and defensive Alliance against them. He even went in Person to *Naples* to try whether he could, by any Means, persuade *Athanasius*, Duke and Bishop of that City, of whom I have spoken above, to renew his Alliance with the sworn Enemies of the Christian Name. *Athanasius* promised not only to break off the Treaty he had made with them, but to turn his Arms against them; and he was for that Purpose supplied by the Pope with a large Sum of Money. That Money the faithless Bishop employed in levying new Forces to assist the *Saracens* more effectually, and oblige the neighbouring Princes to join them. The Pope therefore excommunicated him with great Solemnity in a Council at *Rome*, declaring him anathematized and suspended from all the Functions of his Office, as a Bishop, till such Time as he recalled all the Troops to a Man, that he had sent to the Assistance of the *Saracens*¹. This Sentence made some Impression upon the Bishop, and he sent one of his Deacons, but not till a Twelvemonth after, to assure the Pope, that, provided he absolved him from it, he would order all his Troops Home, and thenceforth never lend the *Saracens* the least Assistance. But the Pope, not satisfied with his barely affording them no Assistance, dispatched *Marinus*, Bishop and Treasurer of the Holy See, and another Person of Distinction named *Sico*, to let *Athanasius* know, that in order to obtain the wished for Absolution, he must convince him of the Sincerity of his Repentance, and that he could by no other Means convince him of it but by apprehending and sending to *Rome* some of the chief Men among the *Saracens*, of whose Names *Marinus* would deliver him a List, and cutting the Throats of the rest in the Presence of his Legates, *jugulatis aliis*^m.

The Bishop
of Naples ex-
communicat-
ed in a Coun-
cil at Rome.
Year of
Christ 882.

Instance of
this Pope's
Cruelty.

* See above, p. 43.

¹ Johan. ep. 270.

^m Johan. ep. 294.

Year of
Christ 882.

Death of the
Pope.

His Writ-
ings.

The Letter
condemning
the Proceſ-
ſion of the
Holy Ghost
from the Fa-
ther and Son
probably
forged.

Such was the Spirit of this blood thirsty Church, even in those early Times.

The Pope had resolved to undertake a Second Journey into *France*, in order to mediate a Peace between the *French* Princes at War with one another, and had even wrote to Count *Suppo* to meet him at Mount *Cenis* ⁿ. But he died in the mean time, according to the most probable Opinion, on the Fifteenth or Sixteenth of *December* 882, having held the See Ten Years and Two Days. The Continuator of the Annals of *Fulda* writes, that the Emperor received the News of the Death of Pope *John*, and was at the same time informed, that he had been knocked on the Head with a Hammer by some, who coveted his Wealth and aspired at his Dignity. But of this no Notice is taken by any other Writer. Of this Pope we have 320 Letters, the Fragments of some others, and a Constitution concerning the Cardinals commonly ascribed to him, but thought by the best Critics to be of a much later Date. *Platina* supposes the Life of Pope *Gregory the Great*, comprised in Four Books, to have been written by this Pope while he was yet Deacon of the *Roman* Church. But that Mistake is confuted by *Panvinius* ^o. The Life of *Gregory* was written during the Pontificate of Pope *John*, and at his Request, by a Deacon of the *Roman* Church named *John*, which probably led *Platina* into that Mistake.

As for the Letter to *Photius*, wherein the Pope condemns as blasphemous the Addition of the Words *and from the Son* to the Symbol, it is by some looked upon as genuine, by others as spurious. The Stile certainly bears a very near Resemblance to that of this Pope's other Letters. But, on the other Hand, as we have a long Letter from *Photius* to the Patriarch of *Aquileia* upon this Subject, written after the Death of the present Pope ^p, wherein he mentions several of his Predecessors, who had disapproved of that Addition, but, speaking of him, only says, that his Legates at the Council of *Constantinople* had signed the Symbol without it, we may, I think, conclude from thence the Letter in question to be forged. For is it not altogether incredible, that, if *Photius* had received such a Letter from Pope *John*, he would not have mentioned it, and named him among the Popes, who had condemned the said Addition?

ⁿ Johan. ep. 307.

^o In Notis ad Platin.

^p Apud Bar. ad ann. 883.

Marinus.

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John confirmed, at the Request of *Sfento Pulcher*, Prince of *Moravia*, the Licence, that had been granted by Pope *Nicholas* to the Inhabitants of that Country, of saying the canonical Hours and celebrating Mass in their native Language, the *Sclavonian Language* we justly commend, says the Pope in his Letter to the Prince I have just mentioned, and order the Praise and the Works of *Christ our Lord* to be celebrated in that Tongue, being directed by divine Authority to praise the Lord not in Three only, but in all Languages; agreeably to what we find in Holy Writ, Praise the Lord all ye Nations, and bless him all ye People. The Apostles announced the wonderful Works of God in all Languages, &c. and he who made the Three chief Languages, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, created all the rest for his Praise and Glory¹. The same Privilege was granted by the Greek Church to the *Russians*, who speak the *Sclavonian* Language; and they perform to this Day, as well as the *Moravians*, divine Service in their native Tongue. The Pope however ordered the Gospel to be first read in the *Latin*, and afterwards, for the Sake of those who understood not that Language, in the *Sclavonian*.

Year of
Christ 882.

Allows the
Moravians
to say the Ca-
nonical
Hours in
their native
Language.

BASILIIUS,
LEO the Philosopher,
Emperors of the East.

MARINUS,

CHARLES the Gross
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and seventh BISHOP of Rome.

IN the Room of *John*, and a few Days after his Death, was unanimously chosen by the Roman People *Marinus*, called by some *Martin II.* a Native of *Gallesium* in *Tuscany*, and the Son of a Presbyter named *Palumbus*². He had been sent to *Constantinople* with the Character of Legate by Pope *Nicholas* to excommunicate *Photius*, by *Hadrian II.* to preside at the Eighth General Council, and by *John* his immediate Predecessor, to annul the Acts of the Council held under *Photius*, and excommunicate him anew, as has been related above. Some will have him to have been a Bishop at the Time of his Election, though of no particular See. But in the *Annals of Fulda*, continued by an anonymous Writer, and published by *Freherius*, he is said to have been raised from the Dignity of Arch-

¹ Johan ep. 247.

² Panvin. in Not. ad Platin. et Annal. Fuld.

Year of
Christ 883.

Excommuni-
cates Photi-
us.

deacon of the *Roman* Church to that of Sovereign Pontiff. He was scarce warm in the Chair when he declared the Acts of the late Council of *Constantinople* void and null, excommunicated *Photius*, and anathematized all, who should communicate with him, or acknowledge him for lawful Patriarch^b; which so provoked the Emperor *Basilius*, that he never owned him for lawful Pope, alledging that he had been translated, contrary to the Canons, from one See to another, and therefore was not canonically elected.

Restores
Formosus.

The next Thing we find recorded of *Marinus* is, that he restored *Formosus*, Bishop of *Porto* to his See, though he had been often excommunicated by his Predecessor, and had even been obliged to swear, that he never would return to *Rome* nor resume the Episcopal Dignity, but content himself, so long as he lived, with Lay Communion. From all these Oaths *Marinus* absolved him, and declaring him innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, replaced him on his See^c. About the same time *Marinus* sent the Pall to *Fulco* preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of *Reims* in the room of the famous *Hincmar*, who died on the Seventeenth of *December* 882. He is likewise said to have sent many valuable Presents to *Alfred*, King of *England*, and among the rest some of the Wood of the true Cross, and to have exempted, at that King's Request, the *English* School at *Rome* from all Taxes^d. This is all we know of *Marinus*. He died, according to the best Historians, in the Second Year of his Pontificate, having presided in the Apostolic See One Year and Five Months^e. He is said by *Platina* to have raised himself by wicked Practices^f. But of such Practices no Notice is taken by any of the more ancient Writers; nay in the *Saxon* Chronicle printed at *Oxford*, he is stiled a *renowned Pope*^g. If he was chosen and ordained a few Days after the Death of Pope *John* in *December* 882, as we are told he was, and held the See One Year and Five Months, his Death must have happened in *May* 884. Of this Pope no Writings have reached our Times, besides a Charter, which he granted to a *Benedictine* Monastery in the Diocese of *Limoges*, empowering the Monks to chuse their own Abbot, according to the Rules of the Order, and anathematizing all, who should be any-ways concerned in

His Death.
Year of
Christ 884.

^b Breviar. Græc. Synod. Constantinop. viii.

mos. l. ii. c. 20.

^d Math. Westmon. et Sim. Dunel. ad ann. 884.

rian. Luitprand. Martin. Polon. &c.

Saxon. ad ann. 883.

^e Auxil. de Ordinationibus For-

^f Ma-

^g Platin. in Martin. II.

^h Chron.

Hadrian III. BISHOPS of Rome.

obliging them to receive one, whom they themselves had not freely chosen ^h.

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Year of
Christ 884.

BASILIIUS,
LEO the Philosopher,
Emperors of the East.

HADRIAN III. CHARLES the Gros
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and eighth BISHOP of Rome.

MARINUS was succeeded by *Hadrian* the Third of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of one *Benedict*. He was chosen and ordained, so far as we can conjecture from the Duration of his Pontificate, in the latter End of *May* or the Beginning of *June* 884.

As the *Saracens* still continued their Ravages in *Italy*, and burnt in the Month of *September* of the present Year the rich Monastery of *Monte Cassino*, murdered the Abbot *Bertarius* at the Altar, and committed many other barbarous Murders without Check or Controul, the Emperor *Charles* being obliged to employ his Forces in the Defence of his *French* Dominions against the *Normans*, the *Italians* began to think of chusing an Emperor of their own Nation, who, not being diverted by foreign Wars, nor having other Kingdoms to defend, might solely attend to the Defence of *Italy*. This Measure the *Italian* Princes represented to the Pope as the only Means of preserving *Italy* from being brought in the End under the Yoke of the *Saracens*; and *Hadrian* is said to have issued, at their Desire and Request, a Decree ordaining, that, if *Charles* should die without Issue Male, the Kingdom of *Italy* and the Title of Emperor should be bestowed upon none but Natives of *Italy*. *Hadrian* at the same time decreed, that the new Pope should be theneforth consecrated without waiting for the Imperial Envoys to assist at his Consecration ^k.

The Emperor *Basilius*, hearing of the Promotion of *Hadrian*, left nothing unattempted to reconcile him with *Photius*, even offering to send a powerful Fleet to assist him against the *Saracens*, provided he communicated with him, and acknowledged him for lawful Pa-

^h Sirmond. Concil. Gall.
tin. et Ciacon. in Hadrian III.

ⁱ Sigon. de reg. Italix, l. v. ad ann. 884.

^k Pla-

Year of
Christ 804.

Death of
Hadrian.
Year of
Christ 885.

triarch. But finding him no less inflexible than his immediate Predecessor, he wrote him a very sharp Letter, charging him, as well as *Marinus*, whom he had succeeded, with Pride, Arrogance, and Presumption, as if they sacrificed the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church to their own private Views and the Exaltation of their See. *Hadrian* did not live to receive this Letter, but died in his Way to *Worms*, being invited by the Emperor to assist at a Diet there. In that Diet the Emperor proposed to depose some Bishops, very unjustly, says the Annalist of *Fulda*, and wanted for that Purpose the Authority of the Pope. But his Design, adds the Annalist, was defeated by the Death of the Pope, who died in the Neighbourhood of *Modena*, and was buried in the Monastery of *Nonantula*, about Five Miles from that Place. If *Hadrian* held the See One Year and Four Months, as we read in most of the Catalogues of the Popes, his Death must have happened about the Month of *September 885*.

BASILIIUS,
LEO the Philosopher,
Emperors of the East.

CHARLES the Gross,
WIDO,
Emperors of the West.

STEPHEN V. or VI.

The Hundred and ninth Bishop of Rome.

Stephen
unanimously
chosen.

THE News of *Hadrian's* Death no sooner reached *Rome*, than the People, the Clergy, and the Nobility, assembled to chuse him a Successor; and they unanimously chose *Stephen*, by Birth a *Roman*, and Presbyter of that Church, all crying out with one Voice, *we will have Stephen, and no other, for our Bishop*. They went accordingly all in a Body from the Place of Election to his House, and carried him by Force (for he was the only Person that opposed his Election) to the *Lateran* Palace, and there placed him upon the Patriarchal Throne. The very next Day, being *Sunday*, he was attended by the whole *Roman* Clergy to the Basilic of the Prince of the Apostles, and ordained or consecrated there with the usual Solemnity^a.

Is ordained
without the
Emperor's
Knowledge.

As the Emperor heard at the same time of his Election and Consecration, he highly repented their having performed that Ceremony

^a Annal. Fuld. ad ann. 885.

^a Gulielm. Biblioth. in Steph. VI.

Steph. V. or VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

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without consulting him, or waiting for the Arrival of his Envoys to assist at it in his Name; and he immediately dispatched *Liutard*, Bishop of *Vercelli*, and some other Bishops with Orders to depose him. But the Pope having sent to him, by a solemn Legation, the Decree of his Election, signed by Thirty Bishops, and by all the leading Men of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People, he was appeased, revoked the Order he had given, and acknowledged *Stephen* for lawful Pope ^b.

Year of
Christ 885.

Stephen was come of a noble and wealthy Family, was greatly beloved by Pope *Hadrian* II. and likewise by *Marinus*, who ordained him Priest, and was held in the greatest Veneration by all Ranks of Men for the Purity and Sanctity of his Life. They had long had a great Drought at *Rome*, and the neighbouring Country was at the same time infested with prodigious Swarms of Locusts, that every-where devoured the Fruits of the Earth, which the *Saracens* were not able to carry off. Thus a dreadful Famine began to rage in *Rome*. But the very Day *Stephen* was chosen, and even before he got to the *Lateran* Palace, a plentiful Shower fell; and as to the Locusts, in order to encourage the People to destroy them, he publicly promised a Reward of Six Denarii a Bushel. But finding that they multiplied as fast as they were destroyed, and consequently that to extirpate them he must put himself to the Expence of a Miracle, he blessed a great Quantity of Water, and distributed it among the People, ordering them to sprinkle their Corn and Vines with it. They did so; and the Ground was soon seen every-where covered with Heaps of those dead Insects ^c. His Generosity and Charity to the Poor do more Honour to his Memory than all his Miracles. For finding nothing in the Patriarchal Palace but bare Walls, the Furniture, Money, and every-thing else being carried off upon the first News of his Predecessor's Death, according to the Custom that began then to prevail, and obtains to this Day, he was obliged to recur to his own Patrimony; and he generously expended it in maintaining the Poor, during the Famine, in relieving the Orphans, many of whom he fed daily at his own Table, and in privately supplying with all the Necessaries of Life noble but unfortunate and decayed Families ^d. Such is the Character the Bibliothecarian gives us of the present Pope.

Miracle wrought by him after his Consecration.

His Liberality.

^b Annal. Fuld. ad ann. 885.

^c Guil. Biblioth. in Steph. VI.

^d Id. ibid.

Year of
Christ 885.
His Answer
to a Letter
from the Em-
peror Basilus
to his Prede-
cessor.

The Letter, that the Emperor *Basilus* wrote to *Hadrian*, filled with severe Reflections upon that Pope, as well as upon his Predecessor *Marinus*, for not communicating with *Photius*, as has been said above, was delivered to *Stephen*; and he answered it a few Days after his Consecration. The Emperor's Letter, said by *Baronius* to have been fraught with Blasphemies, has not reached our Times, but *Stephen's* Answer to it has; and the Pope begins it with fixing the Limits of the Two Powers, the Spiritual and the Temporal, telling the Emperor, that it is his Province to check Tyrants with the Sword, to administer Justice, to make Laws, and to command Fleets and Armies; but that the Care of the Flock was committed to St. *Peter*, and in him to his Successors in the Apostolic See; and that their Power is as much above all temporal Power, as Heaven is above the Earth. From thence he takes Occasion to exhort the Emperor not to meddle with the Affairs of the Church, but contenting himself with his own Province, to leave the Disposal of spiritual Concerns to those, whom the Lord has trusted with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In the next Place the Pope proceeds to answer the Reason the Emperor had alledged, for not acknowledging *Marinus* for lawful Bishop, *viz.* because he had been translated, contrary to the Canons, from one See to another. *Stephen* positively asserts, that he was no Bishop at the Time of his Election; that the Emperor could not prove that he was; and that he therefore ought not, upon that Account, to have looked upon his Promotion to the Apostolic See as inconsistent with the Canons. He adds, that the Canons may, on many Occasions, be dispensed with, alledges several Instances of Translations in the Eastern Churches approved by Men eminent for their Sanctity, and concludes from thence, that the Canons, forbidding Translations, are not binding in all Cases, and consequently that *Marinus* might have been translated, which, he says, was not the Case, from another See to the first without any Breach of the Laws of the Church. The Pope then complains of the Emperor, but in the most respectful Terms, for taking into his Protection One, so often and so justly condemned, excommunicated, and anathematized by the Apostolic See; expresses great Surprise at his giving Ear to the Enemies of *Marinus* striving to prejudice him against that holy Pontiff worthy of eternal Memory; condoles the Church of *Constantinople* upon its being destitute of a Pastor, and only governed by a Layman; declares, that if he were not restrained by his great
Regard

Steph. V. or VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Regard for a Prince, so well deserving of the Church in other Respects, he would treat the Usurper *Photius* with more Severity than any of his Predecessors had done, and closes his Letter with congratulating the Emperor upon his having destined one of his Sons, *viz. Stephen* the youngest of the Three, for the Priesthood, and earnestly entreating him to send a Fleet to protect the Coast, and a Body of Troops to garrison and defend the City of *Rome*, in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of the *Saracens*. We may judge of the deplorable Condition to which *Rome* was reduced at this Time, from their wanting even Oil, as we read in the Close of the Pope's Letter, for the Lamps of the Churches^e.

Year of
Christ 885.

This Letter was written by the Pope soon after his Consecration, and consequently in the latter End of *September 885*, but it did not reach *Constantinople* till the Year 886, after the Death of the Emperor *Basilus*, which happened upon the First of *March* of that Year, after he had reigned One Year with the Emperor *Michael*, and Nine-teen alone^f. He was succeeded by his Second Son *Leo*, surnamed *the Philosopher*, or *the Wise*, his eldest Son *Constantine* dying before his Father: and to him was delivered the Pope's Letter addressed to his Father. As *Photius* was charged after the Death of *Basilus* with having formed a Design of raising a Relation of his own to the Imperial Throne, the new Emperor, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, took Occasion from thence to drive him, as guilty of High Treason, from the Patriarchal See, and confine him, so long as he lived, to a Monastery in *Armenia* called *Bardi*.

Death of the
Emperor Ba-
silus; Pho-
tius deposed,
and confined
to a Mona-
stery.
Year of
Christ 886.

To him *Leo* substituted his own Brother Prince *Stephen*, who had then scarce completed the Sixteenth Year of his Age. But as he had been ordained Deacon by *Photius*, and all Ordinations, performed by him, were declared null by the Decrees of several Popes, as well as by a Decree of the Eighth General Council, and such as had received Orders at his Hands were rendered incapable of ever rising to a higher Degree in the Church, the Emperor apprehended that the Pope might insist on the Observance of those Canons, and not consent to the Promotion of the new Patriarch. Having therefore invited to a Conference *Stylianus*, Metropolitan of *Neocesarea* in *Euphratesia*, and with him all the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Abbots, and Clerks, who had suffered most for not acknowledging *Photius*, nor communicat-

Stephen the
Emperor
Leo's Bro-
ther substi-
tuted in his
room.

^e Apud Baron. ad ann. 885.

^f Porphy. in Basil.

Year of
Christ 886.

ing with him, he addressed them thus; " I have, upon mature De-
" liberation, driven that wicked Man *Photius* from the Patriarchal
" See, and happily put an End to the Persecution you have suffered.
" I shall require none of you to communicate with him. On the
" contrary, I beg you will all communicate with my Brother, that
" we may again become One Flock. But he has been ordained Dea-
" con by *Photius*, whom the *Romans* have condemned, if you do
" not chuse to acknowledge him without first consulting them, let
" us write jointly to the Pope for his Absolution in behalf of those
" whom *Photius* has ordained &c."

The Emperor
writes to the
Pope for a
Dispensation
in behalf of
his Brother,
ordained
Deacon by
Photius.

The Emperor wrote to the Pope accordingly, and so did *Stylianus*,
in the Name of all the Bishops, Presbyters, &c. in the East, who
communicated with *Rome*, begging his Holiness to dispense with
their ordaining the new Patriarch contrary to the Canons, and to for-
give those, who, being imposed upon by the Craft of the Usurper
Photius, had communicated with him upon the Death of *Ignatius*.
Stylianus in his Letter (for that of the Emperor has not reached our
Times) assures the Pope that he had opposed the Intrusion of *Photius*
from the Beginning; enumerates the many Crimes, with which he
twice opened himself a Way to the Patriarchal Throne, reckoning
among them the Murder of his Predecessor *Ignatius*; excuses those,
who had communicated with him, as having been induced to it by
the Legates of the Apostolic See, whom the Emperor had, on the
one hand, terrified with his Menaces, and *Photius*, on the other,
allured with his Presents; declares, that to his certain Knowledge
not one of the many, who had communicated with *Photius*, had
done so by Choice, and closes his Letter with the following Words;
" As we know that we are to be corrected, and reprimanded by your
" Apostolic See, we humbly beseech you to deal mercifully with us,
" and receive those, who have gone astray, but repent and return to
" the Fold; that by your means Peace may be restored in our Days
" to a Church, that has been so long divided and rent into Par-
" ties."

The Pope's
Answer.

The Pope, in his Answer, not only approved of but expressed
great Satisfaction at the Expulsion of *Photius*. However, observ-
ing no small Disagreement between the Emperor's Letter and that
of *Stylianus*, the Emperor writing, that *Photius* had abdicated of

Steph. V. or VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

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his own Accord to lead a solitary Life, and *Stylianus* that he had been driven from his See, he would determine nothing with respect to the Dispensation for which they applied; but desired that Bishops might be sent by both Parties, since he could not give Sentence without hearing the one as well as the other. The Emperor and the Bishops, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, dispatched Legates to *Rome* to give the Pope a minute Account of the Expulsion of *Photius* and of every thing that had passed on that Occasion. But as *Stephen* died before their Arrival, we shall have Occasion to speak of the Success of this Legation in the following Pontificate.

Year of
Christ 887.

In the mean time died in the Month of *January* 888 the Emperor *Charles the Gross*, and, as he left no Male Issue, the *Italian* Princes determined to chuse a King of their own Nation; but not being able to agree among themselves, some acknowledging *Berengarius*, Duke of *Friuli*, and others *Wido*, Duke of *Spoleti*, the whole Country was divided into Two opposite Factions, and involved by that means in the utmost Confusion. The Pope, siding at first with neither of the Competitors, invited *Arnulph* King of *Germany*, the natural Son of *Carloman* Brother to the late Emperor, into *Italy*, to take Possession of that Kingdom, and deliver the unhappy People from the Calamities of a civil and destructive War. But *Arnulph* being then engaged in another War, the Pope and the *Romans* declared for *Wido*, who, finding his Party thus greatly strengthened, attacked *Berengarius* in the Neighbourhood of *Placentia*, and having gained a complete Victory, made himself Master of all *Lombardy* in 890, and going the following Year to *Rome* was there on the Twenty-first of *February* crowned Emperor by the Pope with the usual Solemnity.

Charles the
Gross dies.
Year of
Christ 888.

Wido Duke
of Spoleti
chosen Empe-
ror and
crowned at
Rome.
Year of
Christ 891.

The Pope died, according to the most probable Opinion, about the latter End of *September* of the same Year, after a Pontificate of Nine Years and Fourteen Days according to some, but only of Nine Days according to others. That *Stephen* governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, and should be called, not the VI. but the V. of that Name, appears from his Epitaph, which was still to be seen in the old Porch of *St. Peter's* Church in *Manlius's* Time, as that Writer informs us, and is as follows;

Death of
Pope Ste-
phen.

§ Herman. Contract. ad ann. 890. Luitprand, l. i. Sigon. de reg. Italiæ, l. vi. Annal. Metenf.

VOL. V.

K

Hic

*The History of the POPES, or Formosus.**Hic tumultus quinti sacratos continet artus**Præsulis eximii Pontificis Stephani;**Bis ternis annis populum qui rexit & urbem.**His Letters
and some of
his Actions.*

Several Letters passed between this Pope and *Fulco* of *Reims*, that are to be met with in *Flodoard's* History of that Church. *Lewis* the Son of *Boso*, who had been chosen King of *Burgundy* and *Provence*, was indebted to Pope *Stephen* for the Kingdom which his Father had possessed. For it was upon the Pope's Recommendation that the Bishops crowned and anointed him King, though he was then only Ten Years of Age; and we shall see him hereafter raised to the Imperial Throne. We have a Sermon preached by this Pope against the using of Charms, and talking at Church^h. He forbade the Keepers of St. *Peter's* Church to exact, or even to accept any thing of those who said Mass there; a Custom, which they had introduced, or rather revived in the Pontificate of his Predecessor. He is likewise said to have abolished several other Abuses, which the preceding Popes had connived at, and among the rest that of the Ordeal by Fire and hot Water.

LEO the Philosopher
Emperor of the East.

FORMOSUS.

WIDO, LAMBERT,
and ARNULPH,
Emperors of the West.*The Hundred and tenth BISHOP of Rome.**Formosus
raised to the
Pontifical
Chair.*

IN the room of *Stephen* was chosen *Formosus*, Bishop of *Porto*, who had been so often excommunicated by *John VIII.* and even obliged to swear that he would never return to *Rome*, nor ever exercise any Episcopal Functions, but content himself with Lay Communion so long as he lived. But from this Oath he was absolved by Pope *Marinus*^a, and upon the Death of *Stephen* raised to the Apostolic See from that of *Porto*, to which *Marinus* had restored him. He is the first that was translated from another See to that of *Rome*, the preceding Popes having all been chosen from among the Presbyters and Deacons of that Church. *Formosus*, though persecuted by Pope

^a Apud Baron. ad ann. 890.^a See above, p. 58.*John*

John VIII. in the Manner we have seen, is commended by *Luitprand* for the Sanctity of his Life and the Knowledge of the Scripture ^b, and several other Writers, who flourished at the same time, ^{Year of Christ 891.} speak of him as one worthy, in every Respect, of the high Station to which he was raised. *Luitprand* supposes one *Sergius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, to have been chosen at the same time, but to have been driven from the See by the Party of *Formosus* the more powerful of the Two ^c. But that this Schism happened on Occasion of the Election of *John IX.* and not of *Formosus*, shall be made to appear in the Sequel. ^{Is commended by several Writers.}

The Legates, sent by the Emperor *Leo* and the Eastern Bishops, of whom I have spoken in the foregoing Pontificate, arrived at *Rome* soon after the Promotion of *Formosus*, and were received by him with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem. However he could not be prevailed upon to grant them their Request, and allow those who had been ordained by *Photius* to keep their Ranks in the Church, or to be preferred to a higher Degree, since their Ordination had been declared null by the Decrees of his Predecessors, and those of a General Council. All the Ervoys could obtain of him was, that such as had been ordained by *Photius*, and had communicated with him, should be admitted to Lay Communion, upon their acknowledging their Fault, and asking Pardon for it in Writing. But the *Greeks*, to avoid the Confusion that the deposing of all the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Clerks whom *Photius* had ordained, would occasion in the Church of *Constantinople*, thought it adviseable to leave them in their respective Ranks, and communicate with them upon their condemning *Photius*, and owning they had done Wrong in receiving Ordination at his Hands. Thus *Stephen*, the Emperor's Brother, though ordained Deacon by *Photius* was acknowledged for lawful Patriarch by all the Bishops in the East, no Regard being had by them to the Decrees of the Popes forbidding those, to be ever preferred to a higher Rank, who had been admitted by him to any Degree whatever in the Church ^{Refuses the Dispensation sued for by the Emperor Leo in Favour of his Brother.} ^{Who is nevertheless raised to the Patriarchal Throne.}

The following Year *Formosus* appointed a Council to meet at *Vienne*, in order to redress some Abuses, that prevailed in the Kingdom of *Arles*, and sent the Two Bishops *John* and *Paschal* to preside at it. By that Council Excommunications were thundered out ^{Council of Vienne.} ^{Year of Christ 892.}

^b Luitp. l. i. c. 8.^c Idem ibid.^d Concil. tom. ix. p. 428.

Year of
Christ 892.

against Laymen, who should strike Clerks, make them Eunuchs, or any otherwise mutilate or maim them, should usurp Lands belonging to the Church, dispose of Churches without the Consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, or exact Fees of those, whom they presented to vacant Benefices. By the same Council Ecclesiastics of all Ranks were strictly enjoined to suffer no Women in their Houses^e.

The African Bishops divided among themselves apply to Formosus.

As the Churches in *Africa* were no less divided among themselves than those in the East, the *African* Bishops sent Deputies to consult *Formosus* concerning the Points that occasioned their Division, entreating him to return them a full and speedy Answer, and put an End, by that means, to the Schism, that had long prevailed among them. What these Points were, History does not inform us: But from a Letter, written by the Pope to *Fulco* of *Reims* at this very time, it appears, that, upon the Arrival of the *African* Deputies, he resolved to assemble a very numerous Council at *Rome*, in order to advise with them what Answer he should return. He appointed the Council to meet in the Month of *May* of the present Year, and, in his Letter to *Fulco*, desired him to repair to it without Delay, that he might consult him at Leisure^f. But the Meeting of the Council was afterwards put off till the First of *March* of the following Year: and we have Reason to believe, that it was not held even then, no Mention being made of it by any Writer of those Days.

He espouses the Cause of Charles the Simple against Odo.
Year of
Christ 893.

Formosus espoused with great Zeal the Cause of *Charles* of *France*, surnamed *the Simple*, against *Odo* or *Eudes*, who upon the Death of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, that Prince's Father, had seized on the Kingdom of *Acquitaine* and the Country lying between the *Seine* and the *Loire*, and had been even anointed King of *France* by *Walterius* Archbishop of *Sens*. We have several Letters written by the Pope on Occasion of *Odo's* Usurpation, some of them to *Odo* himself, exhorting him to restore to the lawful Heir the Countries which he had unjustly seized; and some to the *Gallican* Bishops, requiring them to interpose their good Offices with the Usurper, and divert him, if by any Means they could, from kindling a War, whereof the Issues are uncertain, in the Bowels of the Kingdom. But no Regard was had by *Odo* either to the Exhortations of the Pope or the Remonstrances of the Bishops; and *Charles*, though crowned King of all *France* by the Archbishop of *Reims* on the 28th. of *Ja-*

^e Concil. tom. ix. p. 434.

^f Flodoard, l. iv. c. 2.

Formosus.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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January 893, was, in 897, obliged to yield great Part of that Kingdom to his Competitor, that is, the whole Country from the *Seine* to the *Pyrenees* &c. But *Odo* dying the following Year, *Charles* was owned by all sole King of *France*; and thus was that Crown restored to the Family of *Charlemagne*.

Year of
Christ 893.

Great Revolutions happened at the same Time in *Italy*. The Emperor *Wido* dying in 894, his Son *Lambert*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Empire, was the same Year crowned Emperor by *Formosus*. But a most bloody War breaking out between him and *Berengarius*, who upon the Death of *Wido* had revived his Claim to the Kingdom of *Italy*, the Pope, to put an End to the Calamities attending so destructive a War, invited *Arnulph* King of *Germany* to *Rome*, promising to crown him Emperor, provided he drove out both the Tyrants, and restored Peace, with his victorious Arms, to the harrassed Country. *Arnulph* readily complied with the Invitation, and entering *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army, made himself Master of the whole Country, now known by the Name of *Lombardy*. But instead of pursuing his March to *Rome*, he unexpectedly turned his Arms against *Rudulph*, who, upon the Death of *Lewis the Stammerer*, had caused himself to be proclaimed King of *Burgundy*. However he re-entered *Italy* the following Year, but found, on his Arrival at *Rome*, the Gates shut, and the City Walls defended by a numerous Garrison, *Agiltruda*, Mother of the Emperor *Lambert*, having shut herself up in the Place with the Flower of the Imperial Troops. As her Party prevailed in the City, the Pope could afford no Assistance to the King of *Germany*, being himself kept, in a manner, Prisoner by *Agiltruda* and her Friends, determined to stand a Siege and defend the Place to the last Extremity. *Arnulph* therefore attacked first the *Leonine* City with his whole Army, flattering himself that he should carry it by Assault. But he met with a vigorous Resistance, and was repulsed with no small Loss. He resolved to renew the Attack the next Day: But in the mean time an odd Accident put him in Possession of the Place, without any Blood being shed on the one Side or the other. A Hare, starting up among the Troops as they were preparing for the Assault, and running towards the City, the Soldiers pursued it with loud Shouts; and the besieged, imagining they were advancing thus

Great Revolutions in Italy.

Year of
Christ 894.

Arnulph King of Germany

lays siege to Rome.

Year of
Christ 895.

Year of
Christ 895.

undauntedly to the Assault, were seized with a Panic, fled from the Walls in the utmost Confusion, and could by no Means be prevailed upon by their Commanders to return to their Posts. *Arnulph*, perceiving the Walls were abandoned on all Sides, laid hold of the Opportunity, as favourable as unexpected, and marching that Moment up to the Walls, took the Place by Escalade without the Loss of a single Man. *Arnulph*, now Master of the *Leonine* City, was preparing to attack the other Part of the City separated from this by the *Tyber*. But in the mean time the Senate and the Nobility, submitting to the Conqueror, came out in a Body with their Standards and Crosses to receive him, and implore his Protection against the Insults of his victorious Army.

The Romans
yield and ad-
mit him into
the City.

He is crown-
ed Emperor
by Formosus.

Oath taken
by the Ro-
mans.

The Pope, now set at Liberty, received the King upon the Steps of *St. Peter's* Church, and attending him, with the whole Body of the Clergy, to the Tomb of the Apostle, he anointed and crowned him Emperor that very Day. The next Day the new Emperor having ordered the Heads of the *Roman* People to meet in the Church of *St. Paul*, obliged them to take the following Oath of Allegiance: "I swear by all these holy Mysteries, that, saving my Honour, my Law, and the Fidelity I owe to my Lord Pope *Formosus*, I am, and shall be faithful all the Days of my Life to the Emperor *Arnulph*; that I shall never join any Man against him; that I shall never assist *Lambert*, the Son of *Agiltruda*, nor *Agiltruda*; and that I shall never deliver, nor be any ways accessary to the Delivering of the City of *Rome* to either of them, or to any of their Party." As *Agiltruda* had the good Luck to make her Escape, and had thrown herself into the City of *Spoleti*, *Arnulph*, having appointed *Eurold* Governor of *Rome*, left that City after a short Stay there of Fifteen Days, and taking with him *Constantine* and *Stephen*, Two leading Men in the Senate, who had distinguished themselves by their Attachment to *Lambert*, marched to *Spoleti* with a Design to lay siege to that City; but, being taken ill on his March, he dropt that Design, and returned to *Bavaria*.

Lambert
and Berenga-
rius divide by
Agreement
the Kingdom
of Italy.
Year of
Christ 896.

Upon his Retreat the War was rekindled between *Berengarius* and *Lambert* about the Kingdom of *Italy*, both claiming that Kingdom and the Title of Emperor with it. Thus was the whole Country again divided, more than ever, into Parties, some declaring for *Lambert*, others for *Berengarius*, and some for *Arnulph*. As *Arnulph* was then engaged in other Wars, and seemed to have laid aside

all

Formosus. BISHOPS of Rome.

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all Thoughts of ever returning into *Italy*, the Pope left nothing un- attempted to bring about a Reconciliation between the other Two: And they were in the End prevailed upon, in 896, to divide the Kingdom of *Lombardy* between them^b.

Year of
Christ 896.

In the same Year 896, and on Easter-day, which fell that Year on the Fourth of *April*, died Pope *Formosus*, after a Pontificate of Four Years and Six Monthsⁱ. *Luitprand* speaks of him as a *Man* truly religious, and well versed in the sacred Writings^k. *Fulco*, Archbishop of *Reims*, a Prelate no less conspicuous for his Piety and Learning than his high Birth, being descended from *Charlemagne*, and First Cousin to the Emperor *Wido*, looked upon the Election of *Formosus* as a Mark of the Church being under the immediate Protection of Heaven^l; *Auxilius*, who lived at this time, writes, that he drank no Wine, that he never tasted Meat, and that he died a Virgin in the 80th Year of his Age; and what he writes is confirmed by *Flodoard* commending this Pope for his Chastity, his Sobriety, his Generosity to the Poor, his Zeal in propagating the Gospel, &c. His Words are

Death of
Formosus
and his Cha-
racter.

*Præsul hic egregius Formosus laudibus altis
Eruebitur, castus, parcus sibi, largus egenis.
Bulgarioræ genti fidei qui semina sparsit,
Delubra destruxit, populum cælestibus armis
Instruxit, tolerans discrimina plurima: promptus
Exemplum tribuens ut sint aduersa ferenda,
Et bene viventi metuenda incommoda nullaⁿ.*

However we shall soon see this Pope's Body taken out of the Grave, most barbarously insulted, and thrown ignominiously into the Tyber.

As for the Letter or Bull said by *Malmsbury* to have been sent by *Formosus* to King *Edward*, the Son of *Alfred*, excommunicating him and interdicting his Kingdom till several Bishoprics, that had lain vacant Seven Years, were filled up, it is, without all Doubt, a forged Piece, nothing being more certain than that *Formosus* died in 896, and *Edward* did not come to the Crown till the Year 900.

Letter or
Bull of this
Pope to King
Edward of
England a
manifest For-
gery.

^a Annal. Fuld. et Metens. Herman. Contract. Luitprand. l. i. c. 8.

^b Annal.

Fuld. Herman. Contract.

^k Luitp. l. i. c. 8.

^l Flodoard, l. iv. c. 1.

ⁿ Apud Mabill. tom. 4. Annal. l. i.

^m Apud Mabill. Scul. iii. Benedic. par. 2.

^o Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Ang. l. ii.

Besides

Year of
Christ 896.

Besides no Notice is taken of this Excommunication either by the Author of the *Saxon Chronicle*, or by *Afferius*, who lived at this very Time, and would not, we may very well suppose, have passed over in Silence so remarkable an Event.

LEO the Philosopher
Emperor of the East.

BONIFACE VI.

LAMBERT and
ARNULPH,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and eleventh BISHOP of Rome.

Boniface a
Man of a
most infam-
ous Charac-
ter.

FORMOSUS was succeeded by *Boniface*, the Sixth of that Name, even according to *Baronius*, of a most infamous Character^a. He was a *Roman*, the Son of *Hadrian*, and had been deposed, for his wicked and scandalous Life, first from the Rank of Subdeacon, and afterwards from the Priesthood, as appears from the Acts of a Council held under Pope *John IX.* ^b. He is said by the Continuator of the Annals of *Fulda*, who lived at this time, to have died of the Gout at the End of Fifteen Days. As he held the See so short a Time, and intruded himself into it by open Force, *Baronius* and after him some other Writers, have not allowed him a Place among the Popes. But he is reckoned among them, and placed by the abovementioned Annalist, as well as by *Flodoard*, between *Formosus* and *Stephen VI. or VII.*

Dies soon af-
ter his Elec-
tion.

Hinc subit ad modicum vates Bonifacius almus.

Ter quinos hic in arce dies explevit honoris, &c.

says *Flodoard* ^c.

LEO the Philosopher
Emperor of the East.

STEPHEN VI. or VII.

LAMBERT and
ARNULPH,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and twelfth BISHOP of Rome.

Stephen in-
trudes him-
self into the
See.

STEPHEN VI. or VII. a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of a Presbyter named *John*, intruded himself, to use the Expression of *Baronius*, into the See, in the room of the Intruder *Boniface*.

^a Baron. ad ann. 897.
Fragment. de Pontif. Rom.

^b Apud Baron. ad ann. 904.

^c Flod. in

Steph. VI. or VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

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That he was in Possession of the See before the 20th of *August* 896 is manifest from a Rescript or Bull issued by him in Favour of *Arnulph* Archbishop of *Narbonne*, and dated 20th of *August*, Fourteenth Indiction, that is in the Year 896 ^a. From the same Rescript it appears, that *Stephen* at first acknowledged *Arnulph* for Emperor, the said Bull or Rescript bearing Date, *the First Year of the Empire of the Great Emperor Arnulph crowned by God*. But from a Charter, which he granted to a Monastery in *France*, we learn, that, forsaking *Arnulph*, he soon after sided with *Lambert*, that Charter being dated, *in the Reign of our most pious Emperor Lambert, Fifteenth Indiction*, which Indiction commenced at *Rome*, on the First of *September* 896 ^b.

Year of
Christ 896.

The barbarous and unprecedented Treatment, that the dead Body of his Predecessor *Formosus* met with from this Pope, reflects greater Disgrace on his Memory, than his having intruded himself by Force and Violence into the See. For actuated with an unparalleled Rage against that Pope, he resolved to try him after his Death; and having assembled a Council at *Rome* for that Purpose, he ordered the Body of the dead Pontiff to be taken out of the Grave, to be brought before them, and to be placed in his Episcopal Robes on the Pontifical Chair. Having then appointed him a Deacon for his Counsel, he addressed the dead Body thus: *Why didst thou, being Bishop of Porto, prompted by thy Ambition usurp the Universal See of Rome?* What the mock Counsel answered we know not, but *Stephen*, with the Approbation and Consent of all the Bishops who were present, pronounced *Formosus, heretofore Bishop of Porto, guilty of the Charge*, viz. of intruding himself, by unlawful Means, into the Apostolic See; and he was thereupon stript of the Pontifical Ornaments, Three of his Fingers were cut off (those, probably, with which the Popes used to bless People in those Days, as they still do in ours) and the Body was cast into the *Tyber*. It was at the same time declared by the Pope and his Council, that *Formosus* could confer no Orders, and therefore that they, who had received them at his Hands, should be ordained anew ^c. They pretended that a Bishop could, in no Case whatever, forsake his First See, as a Man could in no Case forsake his lawful Wife, and marry another in her Room, wresting to that Purpose the Words of *St. Paul, a Bishop must be*

Condemnation and barbarous Treatment of Pope Formosus.

His Ordinations declared null.

^a Comment. Languedoc. p. 773.
prand, l. i. c. 8.

^b Apud Dather. Spicileg. tom. 3.

^c Luit-

The History of the P O P E S, or Steph. VI. or VII.

the Husband of one Wife: and from thence they concluded, that a Bishop, by passing from one See to another, forfeited all his Power, and could therefore perform no episcopal Functions. But this Doctrine, though defined by Pope *Stephen* in a Council, and consequently *ex Cathedra*, has been long since condemned by his Successors, many of them, and the present Pope among the rest, having been translated, as *Formosus* was, from other Sees to that of *Rome*. The implacable Hatred that *Stephen* bore to *Formosus* was owing, according to *Platina*^d, to his having traversed his wicked Designs, and prevented him from being chosen at a former Election. But *Hermannus Contractus* ascribes it to his Zeal for the Emperor *Lambert*, and Aversion to *Arnulph*, whom *Formosus* had invited to *Rome*, and crowned Emperor^e.

Stephen re-
verses the
Decree of
Hadrian III.
relating to
the Consecra-
tion of the
Pope.

As dreadful Disorders had happened in *Rome* at the Election of a new Pope ever since the Decree of *Hadrian III.* took place, whereby it was enacted, that the Elect should be ordained or consecrated without waiting for the Imperial Envoys, the Emperor *Lambert*, sensible how much it concerned him to have the Pope on his Side, took Occasion from thence to persuade *Stephen* to reverse the Decree of *Hadrian*, and confirm, by a new one, that of *Eugene II.* forbidding the new Pope to be ordained till his Election was approved by the Emperor, and Deputies were sent to assist in his Name at the Ceremony of his Consecration^f. The Decree *Stephen* issued is quoted by *Gratian* in the following Words: *As the Holy Roman Church, in which we preside by the Appointment of God, suffers great Violence from many at the Death of the Pontiff, owing to the Custom which has been introduced of consecrating the Elect without waiting for the Approbation of the Emperor, or the Arrival of his Envoys to assist at his Ordination, and prevent, with their Presence, all Tumults and Disorders, we command the Bishops and the Clergy to meet when a new Pontiff is to be chosen, and the Election to be made in the Presence of the Senate and the People; but let the Elect be consecrated in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys* g.

He is thrown
into a Dun-
geon and
strangled.

Stephen held the See but a short Time, according to some, One Year One Month and Twenty-eight Days; according to others, One Year and Three Months; and according to some, One Year One Month

^d *Platin. in Steph. VI.*
p. 207.

^e *Herman. Contract. ad ann. 896.*

^g *Gratian, Distinct. 33. c. 28.*

^f See vol. iv.

Steph. VI. or VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

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and Nineteen Days. But all we know for certain is, that he was in Possession of the See before the 20th of *August* 896, as has been shewn above, and that *Romanus*, his immediate Successor, held it in *October* 897, a Letter, Bull, or Rescript of that Pope, dated the *Ides of October*, First Indiction, or Year of Christ 897, having reached our Times. *Stephen* was driven from the See, was thrown into a Dungeon, and strangled there, as we learn from his Epitaph found in the Ruins of the ancient Church of *St. Peter*, and published by *Manlius* in the Pontificate of *Alexander III.* (C). Who were the Authors of his Death History does not inform us; but *Baronius* himself owns, that he richly deserved the Doom that overtook him. He had entered the Fold, says the Annalist, like a Thief; and just it was that he should die by the Halter ^b. *Flodoard* mentions a Letter from this Pope to *Fulco* of *Reims*, inviting him to a Council, which he proposed to assemble at *Rome* ⁱ. But of this Council no Notice is taken by any other Writer.

Year of
Christ 897.

^a Baron. ad ann. 900.

ⁱ Flodoard Hist Rem. l. iv. c. 4 et 6.

(C) The Epitaph is as follows :

*Hoc Stephani Papæ clauduntur membra locello :
Sextus dictus erat ordine quippe patrum.
Hic primum repulit Formosi spurca superbi
Crimina, qui invasit sedis apostolicæ
Concilium instituit, præsedet Pastor, et ipse
Leges satis fessis jura dedit famulis.
Cumque pater multum certaret dogmate sancto,
Captus et a sede pulsus ad ima fuit
Carceris interea vinclis constrictus, et uno
Strangulatus nervo, exiit et hominem
Post decimumque regens sedem cum transtulit annum
Sergius huc Papa, funera sacra colens.*

From the last Distich it appears, that Pope *Death*, or in 907. What is said in this *Sergius* (*viz.* III.) translated the Body of Epitaph agrees with what we read in *Flodoard*, who speaks of *Stephen VI.* the present Pope; thus ;
and that this happened Ten Years after his

*Tum sextus Stephanus sacra regimina culmine carpit,
Durus qui nostris, propriis at durior instat.
Sæva quidem legat vivis, truciora sepulchris
Fulconemque mircis, Formosum concutit actis
Concilium gregat infaustum, cui præsidet atrox :
Prædecessorem abiciens, ponensque patronum.
Visus ab hinc meritis dignam incurrisse ruinam,
Carptus et ipse, sacraque abjectus æde, tenebris
Carceris injicitur, vinclisque innectitur atris,
Et suffocatum crudo premit ultio letho (1).*

(1) In Frag. de Pont. Rom.

Year of
Christ 897.

LEO the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

ROMANUS,

LAMBERT and
ARNULPH,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and thirteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Romanus
chosen.

Said to have
declared the
Proceedings
against For-
mosus to be
null.

STEPHEN being driven from the See, *Romanus*, a Native of *Gallefium*, and the Son of *Constantine*, was preferred to it in his room. We have Two Letters of this Pope, both beginning with these Words, *Romanus Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God*, and both dated in the Month of *October*, the First Indiction, which commenced in *Rome* on the First of *September* 897^a. *Romanus* is said by *Platina*, and after him by *Ciaconius* and *Oldwinus*, to have annulled the Acts of his Predecessor *Stephen*, and declared his Proceedings against *Formosus* unjust and illegal. But of that no Notice is taken by any of the more ancient Writers. *Romanus* enjoyed his Dignity, according to *Martinus Polonus*, and some Catalogues, only Three Months and Twenty-two Days, and with them *Flodoard* agrees, speaking of *Romanus* thus;

*Post hunc luce brevi Romani regmina surgunt.
Quatuor haud plenos tractans is culmina menses.
Æthere suscipitur, meritis sortitus honores.*

His Death.
Year of
Christ 898.

If he held the See but Three Months and Twenty-two Days, he must have died about the End of *January* 898. The Words *Æthere suscipitur*, &c. shew him to have been a Man of a different Character from his Predecessor.

LEO the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

THEODORE II.

LAMBERT and
ARNULPH,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and fourteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Annuls the
Acts of Ste-
phen against
Formosus,
and restores
his Body to its
Sepulchre.

ROMANUS was succeeded by *Theodore*, the Second of that Name. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Photius*, and held the See but Twenty Days. However he reinstated, in his short Pontificate, those in their Ranks, whom *Formosus* had ordained and

^a Baluz, in Append. ad Marcum Hispanic. n. 58, et seq.

Stephen.

John IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Stephen had deposed, caused the Body of that Pope to be taken out of the *Tyber*, and, declaring all his Acts to be legal and valid, restored him with great Solemnity to his Sepulchre in the *Vatican* ^a.

Year of
Christ 898.

Luitprand writes, that upon the dead Body being carried into the Church it was saluted, as many *Romans* informed him, by all the Images of the Saints there ^b. *Theodore* is commended by *Flodoard* ^{His Death and Character.} for his Temperance, his Chastity, his Liberality to the Poor, and is said to have been a Lover of Peace, and greatly beloved by the Clergy ^c.

LEO the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

JOHN IX.

LAMBERT and
ARNULPH,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and fifteenth BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Theodore* was chosen *Sergius*, Presbyter of the *Roman* Church; but the Party of *John* prevailing, *Sergius* was driven out of *Rome* before his Consecration, and his Rival preferred to the See vacant by his Flight. *John* was a Native of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, the Son of *Rampoald*, a Deacon and Monk of the *Benedictine* Order ^d. Soon after his Election *Berengarius*, appearing unexpectedly before *Rome* at the Head of a numerous Army, obliged the new Pope to crown him Emperor. But he was no sooner gone, than the Pope declared in a Council, which he assembled on that Occasion, the Coronation of *Berengarius* null and illegal, as having been extorted by Force, and acknowledged *Lambert* alone for lawful Emperor. By the same Council the Acts of that held under *Stephen* against *Formosus* were annulled: those whom *Formosus* had ordained were restored to their Ranks in the Church, as having been unjustly degraded; the Acts of *Stephen's* Council were condemned to the Flames; but they were forgiven, who had assisted at that sacrilegious Assembly, upon their owning their Fault and begging for Mercy. Twelve Canons were issued by this Council, and the Four following among the rest; 1. That though *Formosus* had been translated from the See of *Porto* to that of *Rome*, on account of his extraordinary

John elected.

Berengarius
obliges the
Pope to crown
him Emperor.

Council of
Rome annuls
the Acts of
that held by
Stephen against
Formosus.

Other De-
crees of this
Council.

^a Sigebert, in Chron. Flod. in Frag. de Rom. Pont. Auxil. l. ii. c. 2.
^b Luitprand, l. i. c. 8.

^c Flod. ibid.

^d Flod. ubi supra.

Merit,

Year of
Christ 898.

Merit, no Man should presume, for the future, to pass from one Church to another, they being excluded by the Canons from Lay Communion, even at the Point of Death, who transgress therein. 2. That they, who had violated the Sepulchre of *Formosus*, and dragged his Body to the *Tyber*, should not be admitted to the Communion of the Church till they performed the Penance imposed upon them for so heinous a Crime. 3. That the new Pope should be consecrated in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys. Thus was the Decree issued by *Stephen VI.* as has been related above, confirmed by the present Council; and it is here repeated Word for Word. 4. That none should dare, upon the Death of the Pope, to plunder the Patriarchal Palace, on pain of incurring the Censures of the Church, and the Indignation of the Emperor; and this Prohibition extended to the Houses of all Bishops, the Custom of plundering them when the Bishops died prevailing at this Time all over *Italy*.

Council of
Ravenna.

In the same Year 898 the Pope convened another Council at *Ravenna*, at which were present Seventy-four Bishops and the Emperor *Lambert* in Person. By this Council the Acts of that, which I have just mentioned, were all confirmed; and it was, besides, decreed, that the Regulations of the Fathers, and the Capitulars of the Emperors *Charlemagne*, *Lewis I. Lotharius*, and *Lewis II.* concerning Tythes should be strictly observed, and Excommunications were thundered out against all, who transgressed them. When the Council was ended, the Pope represented to the Emperor the deplorable State to which the *Roman* Church was reduced, not having, he said, wherewithal to relieve the Poor, nor even to pay the Salaries of her Clerks and other Ministers. He then exhorted the Bishops to discharge their Duty, not like Hirelings but true Pastors, and to order a Fast and Procession, upon their Return to their respective Sees, for the Preservation of the Emperor *Lambert*, the Exaltation of the Church, and the Extinguishing of all Schism and Discord in the State as well as in the Church. *Flodoard* speaks of a third Council assembled by this Pope, and Mention is likewise made of it in his Epitaph (E). But the Acts of that Assembly have not reached our Times.

* Sigon. de reg. Italiæ, l. vi. Rubeus Hist. Raven. l. v. Sigebert. in Chron. Vincen. Bellovac. in Specul. Historial.

(E) For we read there the following Lines;
Johannes meritis qui fuit in ordine nonus
Inter apostolicos quem vexit altitonans
Councilis docuit ternis qui dogma salutis, &c.

John IX. held the See, according to the most probable Opinion, ^{Year of} ~~Two Years and Fifteen Days, and must consequently have died about~~ ^{Christ 900.} the Beginning of *August 900*, it being manifest from some of his ^{John dies.} Letters, that he was in Possession of the See in *July 898*. Of this Pope we have Four Letters, *viz.* One to *Stylian*, Metropolitan of *Cesarea*, another to the Clergy and People of *Langres*, the Third to *Charles the Simple* King of *France*, and the Fourth to *Heriveus*, Archbishop of *Reims*. *Stylian*, who had all along adhered to the Patriarch *Ignatius*, and had, on that Account, been driven from his See, and most cruelly persecuted by *Photius*, wrote to *John*, begging he would allow him, and the other Bishops in the East, to communicate with those, whom *Photius* had ordained; which, he said, would restore the so long and so much wished for Peace to the Patriarchal Church of *Constantinople*. The Pope, in his Answer, ^{His Writings.} commended the Metropolitan for his Attachment to the Holy *Roman* Church his Mother, but at the same time declared, that he inviolably adhered, and ever would, to the Decrees of his Predecessors, excommunicating all, who communicated with those whom the Usurper *Photius* had preferred to any Rank whatever in the Church; since ^{Will not allow the Bishops in the East to communicate with those whom Photius had ordained.} none could communicate with them without owning them to have been lawfully ordained, and *Photius*, who ordained them, to have been lawful Patriarch. But *Stylian*, consulting the Peace of the Church of *Constantinople*, did not acquiesce in the Pope's Answer, nor did the other Bishops in the East. They all agreed among themselves not only to communicate with those, whom *Photius* had ordained, but to leave them in the Ranks to which he had preferred them. And thus was, at length, an End put to the Schism, that had divided the Eastern Churches for the Space of near Forty Years.

The Pope in his Letter to the Clergy and People of *Langres*, declares *Argrim* to have been lawfully elected to that See, though his Predecessor (*Stephen V.*) had disapproved of his Election as illegal, ^{Approves an Election which his Predecessor had disapproved.} and ordered another to be preferred to that See in his room. "I do not condemn the Judgment given by my Predecessor, says the Pope in this Letter, but only alter it for the better, being authorized therein by the Example of several other Pontiffs." *John* did not, it seems, think himself bound to adhere to the Decisions of his Predecessors, right or wrong; and he would have found it no easy Task to alledge several Instances of Popes acting so just a Part. The Pope wrote, at the same time, to *Charles of France*, entreating him to favour the

Year of
Christ 900.

*His Answer
to the Arch-
bishop of
Reims con-
cerning the
Wickedness
of the Nor-
mans who
had embraced
Christianity.*

the Restoration of *Argrim*, who had been canonically elected, and was deservedly esteemed and beloved by his People.

The Pope's Fourth Letter is addressed to *Heriveus*, Archbishop of *Reims*, who had been substituted in that See to *Fulco* barbarously murdered by the Command of *Baldwin II.* Count of *Flanders*. *Heriveus* had applied to the Pope to know how he should treat the *Normans*, who, after embracing the Christian Religion, continued to lead the same Life as they had led before their Conversion, *viz.* to murder Christians, and even Priests, to sacrifice to Idols, and eat the Meats, which they had offered to their false Gods. The Pope, after congratulating the Archbishop upon the Conversion of those Infidels (such a Conversion as that of the Savages in the *Indies* by the Jesuits and other Popish Missionaries), answers, that if they, who are guilty of such Enormities are newly converted, and not sufficiently instructed in the Doctrines and Principles of Christianity, he must not proceed against them according to the Rigour of the Canons; but if they are not Novices in the Christian Religion, if they are sensible of the Heinousness of their Crimes, and desire to atone for them, they may be made to undergo the Penance prescribed by the Canons.

*Letter from
the Bishops of
Germany to
the Pope.*

We have Two Letters from the Bishops of *Germany* to this Pope, both worthy of particular Notice. The Emperor *Arnulph* dying in *December* 899, his Son *Lewis*, at that time but Seven Years old, was acknowledged, the following Year, by the *German* Lords for lawful Heir to the Crown of *Germany*. On this Occasion *Hatto*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, wrote to the Pope in his own Name and in that of his Suffragans, to acquaint him with the Death of *Arnulph* their King, and the Election of his Son *Lewis*, whom, he says, they had chosen with one Voice, agreeably to the ancient Custom, that obtained among them, of keeping the Crown in the same Line. He then begs the Pope to excuse their having done so without his Permission, as it was impossible for them to send Deputies to *Rome*, the Roads being all infested by the Barbarians, Masters of the Country between them and *Italy*. But as they had, at last, found an Opportunity of conveying a Letter to his Holiness, they entreated him to confirm with his Blessing what they had done. In the next Place they lay before the Pope the Complaints of their Brethren, the Bishops of *Bavaria*, against the *Sclavonians*, who, having revolted from the *French*, and seized on *Moravia*, had withdrawn themselves from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of *Bavaria*, pretending

John IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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pretending to have a Metropolitan of their own; and besides accused the *Bavarians* to his Holiness, as if they had entered into an Alliance with the Pagans (the *Hungarians*) and acted in Concert with them.

Year of
Christ 900.

Hatto assures the Pope, that this Charge has not the least Foundation in Truth, and represents to him, at the same time, the Evils that will inevitably attend his allowing the *Moravians* to withdraw themselves from all Subjection to the Bishops of *Bavaria*; since they will be thereby encouraged to affect an Independency in the State as well as in the Church, and revolting anew to rekindle the War.

The other Letter was written to Pope *John* by *Theotmar* Archbishop of *Saltzburg* in the Name of all the Bishops of *Bavaria*, as well as of the Clergy and the People. This Pope had appointed One Archbishop and Three Bishops in the Country of the *Moravians*, which, till his Time, had no Bishop, but was under the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Saltzburg*. Of this *Theotmar* and the other Bishops of *Bavaria* loudly complain in their Letter, charging the Pope with acting therein contrary to the known Laws of the Church, and the Decrees of his Predecessors *Leo* and *Celestine*, which they quote. They even insinuate, as if his Holiness had been prevailed upon by Dint of Money to erect those new Bishoprics, and exempt the *Moravians* from all Subjection to the See of *Saltzburg*, though they had been subject to it ever since their Conversion to Christianity. The *Moravians* had prejudiced the Pope against the *Bavarians* as joined in Confederacy with the *Hungarians*, who broke into *Germany* and *Italy* at this Time, and committed every-where unheard of Barbarities, murdering Priests, burning Churches and Monasteries, and carrying all, without Distinction of Sex or Age, into Captivity, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. In Answer to this Charge the *Bavarian* Bishops assure the Pope, that their Country has suffered as much by the Irruption of the *Hungarians* as any other; that they have lent those Barbarians no Kind of Assistance whatever; but, on the contrary, would have readily made Peace with the *Moravians*, in order to attack them, as a common Enemy, with their united Forces; but that the *Moravians*, far from hearkening to any Terms of Peace, had joined the *Hungarians* against their Christian Brethren, and treated them with the same Cruelty &c. What Answer

And from the
Archbishop of
Saltzburg
finding Fault
with the
Pope's Con-
duct.

f Tom. ix. Concil. p. 498.

g Ibid.

Year of.
Christ 900.

the Pope returned to this Letter we know not, nor whether he returned any : But of these new Bishoprics no further Mention occurs in History.

LEO the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

BENEDICT IV.

LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and sixteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Character of
the Popes
of the Tenth
Century.

WE enter now upon the Tenth Century, which we may well call, after *Baronius*, an *Iron Age* barren of all Goodness, a *leadene Age* abounding with all Wickedness, and a dark Age, remarkable, above all the rest, for the Scarcity of Writers, and Men of Learning^a. In this Century, continues the Annalist, the Abomination of Desolation was seen in the Temple of the Lord; and in the See of St. Peter, revered by the Angels, were placed the most wicked of Men, not Pontiffs, but Monsters. And how hideous was the Face of the Roman Church, when filthy and impudent Whores governed all at Rome, changed Sees at their Pleasure, disposed of Bishoprics, and intruded their Gallants and their Bullies into the See of St. Peter. No Mention was then made of the Clergy electing or consenting, the Canons were trod under Foot, the Decrees of the Popes were despised, the antient Traditions turned out of Doors, and the old Customs, sacred Rites, and former Method of choosing Popes quite laid aside. The Church was then without a Pope, but not without a Head, its spiritual Head (Christ) never abandoning it. If the Church subsisted so long without any other Head but Christ, what Necessity is there for any other Head? If it had no visible Head for so long a Time, the so much boasted Succession was evidently interrupted. Other Historians speak in the same Strain of the Popes who were preferred to the Roman See in those unhappy Times. However we meet with some good Men among them, and in that Number we may reckon *Benedict IV.* the immediate Successor of *John IX.* He was a Native of Rome, the Son of *Mommolus*, come of an illustrious Family, and greatly esteemed by the Roman Nobility, as well as by the People and the Clergy. All we know

*Benedict
elected.*

^a Bar. ad ann. 900.

Benedict IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

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for certain concerning the Time of his Election is, that he was chosen and ordained before the Thirtieth of *August* of the present Year 900, a Letter, which he wrote to the Bishops of *France*, bearing that Date.

Year of
Christ 900.

Benedict had scarce taken Possession of the See when Deputies arrived at *Rome*, sent by *Argrim*, of whom I have spoken in the foregoing Pontificate, to inform him, that the Clergy and People of *Langres* had unanimously chosen him for their Bishop, that he had been ordained by *Aurelian*, Archbishop of *Lions*, and his Suffragans, and had governed that Church for the Space of Two Years and upwards, but had been driven from it by a powerful Faction, and was not yet restored, though his Election had been approved by the late Pope, and declared entirely agreeable to the Canons. On this Occasion the Pope assembled a Council in the *Lateran*, and the Bishops, who composed it, being all to a Man of Opinion that *Argrim* had been unjustly driven from the See of *Langres*, the Pope wrote to the *Gallican* Bishops, and, at the same time, to the Clergy and People of *Langres*, to acquaint them with the Decision of the Council, and recommend to them the Execution of the Decree they had issued. *Argrim* was accordingly reinstated in his See, and governed that Church quite undisturbed till the Year 911, when he resigned his Dignity to embrace a monastic Life. The Two Letters written by the Pope on this Occasion are dated, *the Thirtieth of August, in the First Year of Lord Benedict Pope, the Second after the Death of the Emperor Laudebert or Lambert, the Third Indiction*, that is in the Year of Christ 900^b. From the Date of these Letters it is manifest that the Emperor *Lambert* died in 898. Some ascribe his Death to a Fall from his Horse; but others suppose him to have been murdered by *Hugh*, the Son of *Magnifred*, Count of *Milan*, who had been beheaded by his Order. The Emperor *Arnulph* died the following Year 899. *Berengarius* was still living; but as his Coronation had been declared null by the preceding Pope, no Notice is taken in the Date of either of those Letters of him or the Years of his Empire.

Restores the
Bishop of
Langres to
his See.

As the Pope did not acknowledge *Berengarius* for lawful Emperor, several *Italian* Lords, and among the rest *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, the most powerful of them all, invited, no Doubt, with the Approbation of the Pope, *Lewis* the Son of *Boso* late King of

Lewis the
Son of Boso
King of
Arles crown-
ed Emperor,

^b Concil. tom. ix. p. 511.

Year of
Christ 901.

Arles, into *Italy* to take the Imperial Crown, promising to assist him to the utmost of their Power against *Berengarius*. *Lewis* readily complied with the Invitation, but *Berengarius*, the more skilful Commander of the Two, found Means to surround his Army on all Sides, upon his first entering *Italy*, so that he could neither advance nor retire, and was, at the same time, cut off from all Communication with the Country around him. In these Straits *Lewis* offered to withdraw his Troops, to quit *Italy* and return to his own Kingdom, provided he was allowed to retire unmolested. *Berengarius* insisted on his promising upon Oath never thenceforth to set Foot in *Italy*. That Oath *Lewis* took, but soon forgot it, and returned the very next Year 899 at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Army. Thus was a bloody War kindled in *Italy* between the Two Competitors. But *Lewis* prevailing in the End, drove *Berengarius* quite out of *Italy*, and entering *Rome* in Triumph, was crowned with the usual Solemnity by the Pope ^c.

By Benedict,
and not by
his Prede-
cessor.

Some, and among the rest *Baronius*, will have *Lewis* to have been crowned Emperor by the preceding Pope *John IX*. But from the Letters of the present Pope, quoted above, it is manifest, that he was raised to the Pontifical Dignity before the 30th of *August* 900; and we have a Diploma of the Emperor *Lewis*, dated, *February, Fourth Indiction*, or 901, in the First Year of the Empire of our Lord *Lewis*, crowned by the most holy and thrice most blessed Pontiff and Universal Pope Benedict ^d, *Lewis* therefore was crowned by *Benedict* after the Thirtieth of *August* 900, and before the End of *February* 901. I said, after the Thirtieth of *August*, for the Two Letters, quoted above, are dated, the Thirtieth of *August* the Second Year after the Death of the Emperor *Lambert*; a plain Proof this, that *Lewis* was not at that Time yet crowned Emperor, else the Year of his Empire would have been marked.

Death of Be-
nedict.
Year of
Christ 903.

Benedict died, according to the most probable Opinion, about the Beginning of *October* 903, having presided in the *Roman* Church Three Years and Two Months. We learn from his Epitaph ^e, and from *Flodoard* ^f, that he was a kind Father to the Widows, the Poor, and the Orphans, cherishing them like his own Children, and that he preferred the public to his private Good.

^c Luitp. l. ii. c. 10. Regino in Chronic.

dem spectantibus l. iii. p. 114. apud Pagi ad ann. 950.

^f Flod. in Frag. de Pont. Rom. 907.

^d Florentinius de rebus ad Mathil-

^e Apud Baron. ad ann.

LEO the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

LEO V.

LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

Year of
Christ 903.

The Hundred and seventeenth BISHOP of Rome.

TO *Benedict* was substituted *Leo*, the Sixth of that Name; a *Leo chosen*, Native of *Ardea*. But he was soon driven out by one of his ^{driven from the See, and thrown into Prison.} own Priests named *Christopher*, and thrown into Prison, where he died of Grief, as we read in *Signonius*. In some Catalogues he is said to have held the See Thirty Days, in others Forty, and in some One Month and Twenty-six, or Twenty-seven Days. All we know for certain is, that *Christopher* was possessed of the Pontifical Dignity in the Month of *December* of the present Year 903. *Flodoard* says no more of this Pope than that he died before the End of Two lunar Months.

LEO the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

CHRISTOPHER.

LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and eighteenth BISHOP of Rome.

CHRIstOPH^{er}E^R, the Successor of *Leo*, was by Birth a *Christopher Roman*, and the Son of one *Leo*. All we know of him is, that ^{intrudes himself into the See.} he intruded himself into the See by open Force and Violence, that he treated his Predecessor with great Barbarity, and confirmed all the Privileges, that his Predecessors had granted to the famous Abbey of *Corbie*. The Diploma, confirming those Privileges, is dated, *the Seventh of the Calends of January, the Seventh Indiction*, that is, the Twenty-fifth of *December* 903, *in the Reign of our most pious Emperor Lewis*^a. *Christopher* therefore had seized on the See before the Twenty-fifth of *December* of the present Year. But he held it, as we read in *Martinus Polonus*, in *Flodoard*, and in most of the Catalogues, only Six, or at most Seven Months, being driven from ^{Is shut up in it by Sergius, who first confined him to a Monastery, and afterwards shut him up in a Dungeon, where he died.} it by *Sergius*, who first confined him to a Monastery, and afterwards shut him up in a Dungeon, where he died of the Hardships which he underwent^b. *Manlius* supposes him to have been buried in the *Va-*

^a Dacher. Specileg. tom. vi. p. 315.

^b Ciacon. Marian. Scot. &c.

Year of
Christ 903. *tican*, and the following Epitaph, that was found in the Ruins of the ancient Church, to be his :

Hic pia Christopheri requiescunt membra sepulti.

But one would think the Epithet *pious* could scarce be bestowed upon him, or his Bones.

LEWIS the Philosopher,
Emperor of the East.

SERGIUS III.

LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and nineteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Sergius
usurps the
See.

Year of
Christ 904.

His Charac-
ter.

Has a Son
by Marozia
a famous
Courtesan.

CHRISTOPHER being driven from the See, *Sergius*, the Third of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, the Son of *Benedict*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, intruded himself into it in his room. He was chosen upon the Death of *Theodore* II. as has been related above, but obliged by the more powerful Party of *John* IX. to quit *Rome* before his Ordination, and lie concealed for the Space of Seven Years, that is from the Year 898 to 904, when the Faction of *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, who had espoused his Cause, prevailing, he returned, drove out *Christopher*, and placed himself on the Chair in his room^a. *He was*, says *Baronius*, *the Slave of every Vice, and the most wicked of Men*^b. In these unhappy Times lived, and, in a Manner, reigned at *Rome* the celebrated *Theodora* and her Two Daughters *Marozia* and *Theodora*. They were of a Senatorial Family, and no less famous for their Beauty, their Wit and Address, than infamous for the scandalous Lives they led. *Marozia* cohabited with *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, who having seized on the Castle *Sant Angelo*, delivered it up to her, and from thence she, her Mother and her Sister, supported by the Marquis and his Party, governed *Rome* without Controul, and disposed of the Holy See to whom they pleased. *Adelbert* had a Son by *Marozia* named *Alberic*, but she nevertheless prostituted herself to the Pope, and his Holiness had by her a Son called *John*, whom we shall soon see raised to the Papal Chair, by the Interest of his Mother^c.

^a Flodoard. ubi supra, et epitaph. apud Manlium.
^c Luitp. l. ii. c. 13.

^b Bar. ad ann. 908.

Sergius

Sergius III. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Sergius is said to have granted the Pall to the Archbishop of *Co-logne*^d, and to have exempted the Church of *Hambourgh*, or *Bremen* from all Subjection to that See^e. He rebuilt, decorated, and enriched with many valuable Presents the *Lateran* Church, which had stood, says *John* the Deacon, ever since the Time of *Constantine the Great*, but fell in the Pontificate of *Stephen VI.*^f. The Deacon speaks favourably of this Pope, and, if we believe what we read in his Epitaph, he was unjustly driven from the See by *John IX.* and resumed the Pontifical Dignity at the earnest Desire of the *Roman* People. But all the Writers, who lived the nearest to those Times, speak of Pope *Sergius III.* as a Man abandoned to all Manner of Vice, and the most wicked of Men. However we read of a solemn Embassy sent to him by *Leo* Emperor of the East on the following Occasion. The Emperor had married Three Wives; but as they had all proved barren, he resolved to marry a Fourth, named *Zoe*, by whom he had, in his First Wife's Life-time, a Son called *Constantine*. As Third and Fourth Marriages were forbidden in the *Greek* Church, *Nicholas*, then Patriarch, not only refused to perform the Marriage Ceremony, but deposed the Presbyter, who performed it, and would not allow the Emperor to enter the Church. Hereupon *Leo* applied to the Pope; and *Sergius*, not satisfied with approving of his Marriage, there being no Law in the *Latin* Church forbidding a Man to marry as many Wives as he pleases, dispatched Legates to *Constantinople* solemnly to confirm the Marriage which the Emperor had contracted. The Patriarch however continued to oppose it as unlawful and null, nor could he ever be prevailed upon to acknowledge *Constantine* for lawful Heir to the Imperial Crown. His Obstinacy, or rather his strict Observance of the Laws of his Church, provoked the Emperor to such a Degree, that he sent him into Exile, and raised *Euthymius*, his Syncellus, to the Patriarchal See in his room^g.

Year of
Christ 911.
Some of his
Actions.

Sergius enjoyed the Pontifical Dignity Seven Years and Three Months, as we read in *Hermannus Contractus*, *Martinus Polonus*, and most of the Catalogues. As he was therefore ordained, about the Beginning of *June* 904, his Death must have happened about the latter End of *August* 911.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 911.

^d Krantzius hist. Sax. l. iii. c. 1. ^e Adam. Bremenf. l. i. c. 24. ^f Johan. Diac. de Ecclef. Lateran. paragraph. 17. et Mabill. in append. Ordinis Roman.
^g Leo Grammatic. p. 473, et 483. Zonar. Syameon. Logoth. &c.

Year of
Christ 911.

LEO the Philosopher,
ALEXANDER,
Emperors of the East.

ANASTASIUS III. LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and twentieth BISHOP of Rome.

Anastasius.

SERGIUS was succeeded by *Anastasius* III, by Birth a *Roman* and the Son of one *Lucian*. The only Thing we know of him, that deserves any Notice, is, that at the Request of *Berengarius*, King of *Italy*, he sent many rich Ornaments to the Church of *Pavia*, and granted to the Bishop of that City the Use of a Canopy the Privilege of riding a white Horse with the Cross carried before him, and of sitting in all Councils at the Pope's Left Hand^a. *Ciaconius* adds, upon whose Authority I know not, that he repaired the Church of *St. Hadrian*, that was ready to fall, and there consecrated an Altar of his own erecting.

Letter from
the Patriarch
of Constantinople to
the Pope concerning Third
and Fourth
Marriages.

To this Pope *Nicholas* of *Constantinople* wrote a long Letter to acquaint him with what had passed between him and the Emperor on occasion of that Prince's Fourth Marriage. The Emperor finding, according to his Account, that he could by no Means prevail upon him to authorize his Incontinence, ordered him to be seized at a grand Entertainment, to which he had invited him, to be conveyed from thence on board a Vessel and carried into Exile. However he repented, a little before his Death, of what he had done, and bewailing it with Floods of Tears, recalled him from Exile, and restored him to his See. In that Letter the Patriarch bitterly inveighs against Third and Fourth Marriages, stigmatizing them with the Name of an *impure Conjunction*, and treating those, who countenance or encourage them, as Promoters and Encouragers of Concubinage. The Words of *St. Paul*, *it is better to marry than to burn*, he absurdly restrains to Women only, as if it were better for Men to burn than to marry, and loudly complains of the Pope's Legates for presuming to approve what the Bishops in the East had all, with one Voice, condemned as repugnant to the Laws of the Church and the Gospel. He adds, that he did not intend that his Holiness should brand the Memory, either of the late Emperor, or

^a Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. vi.

Lando.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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of his Predecessor *Sergius* for what they have done amiss in that Affair, since both have been called from this World, to account for their Conduct at the Tribunal of the Sovereign Judge, but thinks that they, who have encouraged the Emperor to transgress the known Laws of the Church, and are still living, ought to be punished with the same Severity as if they themselves had transgressed them ^b. As *Anastasius* did not live long enough to answer this Letter, the Patriarch wrote another to Pope *John X.* of which I shall have Occasion to speak in the Sequel.

Year of
Christ 912.

Anastasius died, according to the Computation of the best Chronologers, about the Middle of *October* 913, after a Pontificate of about Two Years and Two Months, and was buried in the *Vatican*. He is commended in his Epitaph, and likewise by *Flodoard*, for the Mildness of his Government, for his Integrity, and the Purity of his Manners. He did nothing Blame-worthy, says *Platina*, which, in the Popes of those Days, was Matter of great Commendation.

Death and
Character of
Anastasius.
Year of
Christ 913.

In the Beginning of the Pontificate of *Anastasius*, or in the latter End of his Predecessor's, died *Leo the Philosopher* Emperor of the East, and was succeeded by his Brother *Alexander*, who took *Constantine*, the deceased Emperor's Son by *Zoe*, for his Partner in the Empire.

Death of the
Emperor
Leo.

ALEXANDER,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

LANDO,

LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and twenty-first BISHOP of Rome.

LANDO, by Birth a *Sabine*, and the Son of *Tranus*, succeeded *Anastasius*, but held the See, as we read in *Flodoard*, only Six Months and Ten Days. *Rubeus* in his History of *Ravenna* informs us, that Mention is made of Pope *Lando* in the Tables written by *John*, Archbishop of that City, on the Nones of *February* of the Second Indiction, that is, on the Fifth of *February* 913^a. He is supposed to have died about the Twenty-seventh of *April* 914. In

Lando dies
after a Pon-
tificate of Six
Months.
Year of
Christ 914.

^b Apud Baron. ad ann. 912.

^a Rub. Hist. Raven. l. v. p. 253.

Year of
Christ 914.

his Pontificate died, after a very short Reign the Emperor *Alexander*, and by his Death *Constantine* remained sole Master of the Empire.

CONSTANTINE VIII.
Emperor of the East.

JOHN X.

LEWIS III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and twenty-second BISHOP of Rome.

John how
raised to the
See.

JOHN X. a Roman, and the Son of *John*, was, upon the Death of *Lando*, raised to the Papal Chair by the Interest of the famous Prostitute *Theodora*. *Luitprand* gives us the following Account of his Promotion. “ In those Days, says that Historian, *Peter*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, thought to be the First Archiepiscopal See after that of *Rome*, used frequently to send to *Rome* a Deacon of his Church named *John* to pay his Obeisance to his Holiness. As the Deacon was a very comely and personable Man, *Theodora* falling passionately in Love with him, engaged him in a criminal Intrigue with her. While they lived thus together, the Bishop of *Bologna* died, and *John* had Interest enough to get himself elected in his room. But the Archbishop of *Ravenna* dying before he was consecrated, *Theodora* persuaded him to exchange the See of *Bologna* for that of *Ravenna*; and he was accordingly, at her Request, ordained by Pope *Lando* Archbishop of that City. *Lando* died soon after, and upon his Death *Theodora* exerting all her Interest, as she could not live at the Distance of Two hundred Miles from her Lover, got him preferred to the Pontifical Chair^a.”

Engages the
Italian Prin-
ces in a
League a-
gainst the
Saracens.

To no Pope, perhaps, did *Rome* owe more than to *John* thus elected, or rather intruded into the See. The *Saracens* had possessed ever since the Year 876 a Strong-hold on the Banks of the *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, at a small Distance from *Rome*, and from thence made daily Incursions into the *Roman* Territories, and kept the City itself in a manner blocked up; insomuch that none could come to visit the Tombs of the Apostles without exposing themselves to the Danger of falling into the Hands of those Barbarians, and being

^a Luitprand. l. ii. c. 13.

John X. BISHOPS of Rome.

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either murdered by them, or carried into Captivity. As *John* was better qualified to command an Army than to govern the Church, he resolved to deliver *Rome* from so grievous an Oppression, and with that View found means, being a Man of uncommon Address and great Abilities, to engage not only the *Italian* Dukes, but *Berengarius* King of *Lombardy*, and even *Constantine*, Emperor of the East, in a League against those Infidels, as a common Enemy. *Berengarius* had been crowned Emperor by *Stephen VII.* but that Coronation having been declared null by *John IX.* as has been related above, the present Pope promised to crown him anew, and get him acknowledged by all for lawful Emperor, provided he joined the rest of the *Italian* Princes in the intended Expedition against the *Saracens*, who plundered the *Roman* Church of all the Wealth, that the Kings of the *Franks* and the *Roman* Emperors, his Ancestors (for he was descended from *Charlemagne*) had so generously bestowed upon *St. Peter* and his Successors in the Apostolic See. *Berengarius*, allured with this Offer, marched to *Rome* at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Army; was met, as he approached the City, by the Nobility, the Clergy and the People, and attended by *Peter*, the Pope's Brother, amidst the loud Acclamations of the Multitude, to the *Vatican*. The Pope waited for him in the Porch of the Church, sitting in a Chair of State, from which he rose as the King approached, and advancing a few Steps kissed him, and then conducted him to the Tomb of the Apostle, where, after a short Prayer, he received his Confession of Faith, and repaired with him to the *Lateran* Palace. There the Pope entertained him with all the Splendor and Magnificence of a great Prince till Easter Sunday, that is till the Twenty-fourth of *March* of the present Year 916, when he crowned him Emperor with the usual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*.

Year of
Christ 914.

Crowns *Berengarius*
Emperor.
Year of
Christ 916.

In the mean time arrived the expected Succours from the East, sent by the Emperor *Constantine*, no less provoked against the *Saracens* than the Pope himself, for the dreadful Ravages they had committed, and continued to commit in his *Italian* Dominions. Upon their Arrival the Pope and the Emperor took the Field; for the Pope, who had more of the Soldier than the Bishop, would have his Share in the Victory, which, he said, he did not doubt but they should obtain by the Intercession of the Prince of the Apostles, whose Patrimony they defended. The *Greeks* under the Command of *Ni-*

He marches
in Person against the
Saracens.

cholas

Year of
Christ 916.

cholas Picigli a Patrician, the Imperial Troops commanded by the Emperor in Person, and those of the *Italian* Lords, headed by their respective Dukes and Marquisses under the Pope as their Generalissimo, advanced from different Quarters to the *Garigliano*, surrounded the Fortress, and began to batter it on all Sides. The *Saracens* held out for Three Months against the daily Attacks of Three numerous Armies; but in the end, their Provisions being all consumed, they set Fire to the Fortress, which soon destroyed the Wealth of the many Provinces that they had plundered, and sallying out in a close Body, opened themselves a Way, Sword in Hand, to the neighbouring Woods and Mountains. But being closely pursued, they were all, to a Man, either taken, or cut in Pieces^b. Thus was the Fortress of *Garigliano* recovered from the *Saracens*, chiefly by means of Pope *John*, after they had held it for the Space of Forty Years, and been so long the Terror of all *Italy*. His Holiness returned, in Triumph, from so successful an Expedition to the Arms of his beloved *Theodora*.

Who are all
to a Man cut
off or taken.

Council of Al-
theis.

In the same Year 916 the Pope appointed a Council to meet at *Altheis*, a Town in Lower *Bavaria*, in order to redress several Abuses that had crept into those Churches, and sent *Peter*, Bishop of *Ortona*, a City in *Abruzzo*, to preside at it with the Character of his Legate. By that Council several Canons were enacted, and the following among the rest: That no Man should marry the Widow, whom he had criminally conversed with in her Husband's Life-time; that none should communicate with excommunicated Persons on Pain of incurring the same Excommunication; that no Bishop should pray with them in the Church; and that they, who, unmindful of their Allegiance, should revolt from, or bear Arms against, their lawful Prince, should be excommunicated, and by all avoided^c.

Sends a Le-
gate into
Spain.

Year of
Christ 917.

The following Year the Pope, to avert the Punishment due, as he was sensible, to the scandalous and wicked Life he led, sent a Legate to visit, in his Name, the Tomb of the Apostle St. *James* at *Compostella* in the Kingdom of *Leon*, and at the same time wrote to *Sisenand*, who was then Bishop of that City, and looked upon as a Man of great Sanctity, desiring him to engage for him, with his daily Prayers, the Protection of the Holy Apostle in his Life-time, and at the Point of Death. *Sisenand* took Occasion from thence to send a

^b Luitprand. l. ii. c. 13.

^c Burchard. l. ii. c. 68. Juv. part. xiv. c. 116.

John X.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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Presbyter, named *John*, to *Rome*; and by him *Ordonius*, King of *Leon*, wrote a most submissive Letter to the Pope, with many rich and valuable Presents. The Pope received the *Spanish* Legate with all possible Marks of Distinction, and kept him a whole Year at *Rome*, on account of some Disputes between him and the *Roman* Clergy concerning the *Mosarabic* Missal, that was used in *Spain*, but differed in some Points from the *Roman*. As the Difference was, upon Examination, found to be no ways material, the *Spanish* Churches were allowed to use their own Missal, altering only some Words in the Consecration of the Host ^d.

Year of
Christ 919.

Approves of
the Mosara-
bic Missal
with some
Alterations.

As some Misunderstanding had subsisted between *Rome* and *Con-*
stantinople ever since the Time of Pope *Sergius* III. who had approved
of the Emperor *Leo's* Fourth Marriage, as has been related above, the
Emperor *Constantine*, and *Nicholas*, the Patriarch, desirous of re-
establishing a perfect Union and Concord between the Two Churches,
sent, in 920, a solemn Ambassy to *Rome* for that Purpose. The
Pope, in his Turn, sent the Two Bishops *Theophylactus* and *Charles*,
with the Character of his Legates, to *Constantinople*; and thus were
the Two Churches again happily united. As *Euthymius*, whom the
Emperor *Leo* had appointed Patriarch in the room of *Nicholas* sent
into Exile for opposing his Fourth Marriage, died at this Time, an
End was put, by his Death, to the Schism, which had divided that
Church, some acknowledging *Nicholas*, and some *Euthymius*. By
the Treaty of Union, that was agreed to and signed, on this Occa-
sion, by the Patriarch and the rest of the Clergy, Fourth Marriages
were absolutely forbidden on Pain of Excommunication, a Five
Years Penance was imposed upon those, who should contract a Third
Marriage, after the Age of Forty, and they were enjoined a Three
Years Penance, who, being Thirty Years of Age, and having Chil-
dren, should marry a Third Wife; but this Penance was to be less-
ened, if they had no Children ^e.

The Church
of Constant-
inople re-
united to that
of Rome.
Year of
Christ 920.

In the Year 921 the Pope determined a Controversy, which had
lasted some Time, between *Hilduin*, and *Richerius* Abbot of *Prom*,
concerning the Bishopric of *Tongres*. *Richerius*, it seems, had been
chosen Bishop of that City by a Majority of the People and the Cler-
gy, but *Heriman*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, had nevertheless ordained
Hilduin. Both Parties applied to the Pope, who summoned the

The Pope de-
termines a
Dispute con-
cerning the
Bishopric of
Tongres.
Year of
Christ 921.

^d Ambros. Moral. l. xv. c. 47.

^e Apud Balf. et Baron. ad ann. 917.

Year of
Christ 921.

Two Competitors and the Archbishop to *Rome*. *Hilduin* and *Richerius* complied with the Summons, but *Heriman* was prevented by Sickness, real or pretended, from undertaking that Journey. On this Occasion the Pope assembled a Council of the neighbouring Bishops; and by them *Richerius* was declared lawfully elected, and *Hilduin* not only pronounced an Intruder, but excommunicated and divested of the Episcopal Dignity. In his room *Richerius* was ordained by the Pope himself, who is said to have honoured him with the Pall, an Honour that none of his Predecessors ever enjoyed^f.

Approves the
Election of a
Child to the
See of Reims.

Year of
Christ 925.

How little the Discipline and Laws of the Church were regarded by this Pope plainly appears from his confirming the Election of *Hugh*, whom his Father, Count *Herbert*, one of the most powerful Lords in *France*, had caused to be chosen Archbishop of *Reims*, though he was, at the Time of his Election, scarce Five Years old. *John* however appointed *Abbo*, Bishop of *Soissons*, to perform the Episcopal Functions in that Diocese, and left the Care of the Temporalities to the Count, during the Minority of his Son^g.

Disturbances
in Italy.

Great Disturbances happened in *Italy*, during *John's* Pontificate. The Emperor *Berengarius* being treacherously murdered by some of his own People in 922, *Rodolph II.* King of *Burgundy*, entering *Italy*, seized on the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, and was crowned, according to Custom, at *Pavia* by the Archbishop of *Milan*. But the *Italian* Lords, dissatisfied with his Government, drove him out in 926, and chose *Hugh*, Count of *Provence*, King of *Lombardy* in his room. He was the Son of *Theutbald* and *Bertha*, Daughter of *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*. His Mother, upon the Death of *Theutbald*, had married *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, and had by him *Wido*, who succeeded his Father in that Marquisate, and got the

Hugh Count
of Provence
crowned King
of Lombardy.

Year of
Christ 926.

Italian Lords to call his Half-brother *Hugh* to the Crown of *Lombardy*. As *Hugh* went to *Italy* by Sea, he was met at *Pisa* by the Pope's Nuncio and the Deputies of the *Italian* Princes, and attended by them to *Pavia*, where he was crowned with great Solemnity. From *Pavia* the new King repaired to *Mantua*, whither the Pope himself went to congratulate him upon his Accession to the Crown; and on this Occasion his Holiness is said to have entered into an Alliance with him, but upon what Terms History does not inform us^h.

^f Concil. tom. ix. p. 571. Flodoard ad ann. 920, 922.
ann. 925. ^h Luitprand, l. ii. c. 3. et l. iii. c. 4.

^g Flodoard ad

Leo VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

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As the Two Prostitutes *Theodora* and *Marozia* exercised, at this Time, an absolute Power in *Rome*, *Wido*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, in order to establish his Interest there, married *Marozia*, though she had had a Son by his Father *Adelbert*. *John* had been raised, as we have seen, to the Chair, by their Mother *Theodora*; but upon her Death *Marozia*, provoked at the Pope's placing greater Confidence in his Brother, named *Peter*; than in her or her Husband, resolved to remove them both out of the Way. This Resolution she communicated to her Husband, and not only prevailed upon him to approve but to execute her wicked Design. For *Wido*, breaking into the *Lateran* Palace with a Band of Ruffians, while the Pope's Brother was there with him, killed the Brother on the Spot, and seizing the Pope, dragged him to Prison, where he died soon after, some say, smothered with a Pillowⁱ. He held the See, according to *Flodoard*, Fourteen Months and somewhat more (*paulo amplius*), and consequently must have died in *June* or *July* 928. He deserved, says *Rubeus*, a better End; but to one Woman he owed his Rise, and his Down-fall to another^k. *John X.* is the first Pope that was seen at the Head of an Army; and to him *Italy* owed more than to most of the Popes, who have been honoured with a Place in the Calendar. He is said to have espoused with great Zeal the Cause of *Charles*, surnamed *the Simple*, King of *France*, against his rebellious Subjects^l.

Year of
Christ 928.

John is de-
posed and dies
in Prison.

John the first
Pope that
headed an
Army.

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS.
Emperors of the East.

LEO VI.

The Hundred and twenty-third BISHOP of Rome.

JOHN was succeeded by *Leo VI.* said by *Onuphrius*, and after him by *Baronius* and *Papebroch*, to have been the Son of the Primicerius *Christopher*. *Leo* is greatly commended by *Platina*, and the Writers who have copied him^a. But all we read of him in *Flodoard*, who lived in those Days, is, that he succeeded *John X.* and governed the Church Seven Months and Five Days.

raised to the
Chair.
Year of
Christ 929.

From the Year 922, when the Emperor *Berengarius* was murdered, there were no Emperors of the West till the Year 962, when

ⁱ Idem, l. iii. c. 12.
tin. in Leon. VI.

^k Hist. Raven. l. 5.

^l Flodoard Chron.

^a Pla-

Year of
Christ 929.

Otho King of *Germany* was crowned Emperor by Pope *John XII.* in the Seventh Year of his Pontificate, as I shall relate in the Sequel.

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS,
Emperors of the East.

STEPHEN VII. or VIII.

The Hundred and twenty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

Stephen suc-
ceeds Leo.

Dies.
Year of
Christ 931.

UPON the Death of *Leo*, *Stephen VII.* a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Theudemund*, was raised to the See in his room, and held it Two Years One Month and Twelve Days. Thus *Flodoard*, with whom most Chronologers agree. He must therefore have died about the Fifteenth of *March 931*. *Platina* speaks of him as a Man who was blessed with a sweet Temper, and led a very religious Life ^z.

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS,
Emperors of the East.

JOHN XI.

The Hundred and twenty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

John in-
truded into
the See.

Grants a
Charter to
Odo Abbot
of Cluny.

IN the room of *Stephen* was intruded into the See *John*, the Eleventh of that Name. He was the Son of Pope *Sergius III.* by *Marozia*, and owed his Promotion to *Wido*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, who had married his Mother, and jointly with her governed *Rome*. He must have been very young when raised to the See, as *Hugh*, King of *Italy*, was so taken with his Mother's Beauty, as to marry her upon the Death of her Husband *Wido*.

All we find recorded of this Pope from the Time of his Election, if we may so call it, in 931 to 933, is, that, at the Request of *Hugh* King of *Burgundy*, he granted a Charter to *Odo*, Abbot of *Cluny*, confirming the Grant of an Abbey given to that Monastery ^a, and that he sent the Pall to *Artald*, the new Archbishop of *Reims* ^b. In

^z *Platin.* in *Steph. VII.*
in *Chron.* ad ann. 933.

^a *Apud Mabill. Secul. v. Benedict.*

^b *Flodoard,*

Leo VII.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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the Year 933 he was seized and kept confined to the Hour of his Death by his Half-Brother *Alberic* on the following Occasion. *Hugh* ^{Year of Christ 933.} King of *Italy*, become Master of *Rome* by marrying *Marozia*, began to treat the *Romans* as his Slaves rather than his Vassals. *Alberic*, the Son of *Marozia* by *Adelbert*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, met with no better Treatment from him than the *Romans*; nay, being one Day ordered by his Mother to wait upon the King with Water to wash his Hands, and did it very awkwardly, the haughty Prince struck him in a Passion, which so provoked the Youth against the King as well as against his Mother, that he put himself at the Head of the discontented *Romans*, with a Design to drive them both out of *Rome*. As the People flocked to him from all Quarters, he attacked the Castle of *St. Angelo* before the King could assemble his Forces, and made himself Master of that Fortrefs, the King having, with much ado, made his Escape over the Wall, during the Hurry and Confusion of the Assault. *Marozia* however fell into his Hands, and he kept her as well as his Brother Pope *John* closely confined so long as they lived c. ^{Is confined;}

John died, according to *Flodoard*, in the Third Year of his Confinement, after a Pontificate of Four Years and Ten Months not quite complete. ^{and dies in Prison. Year of Christ 936.}

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS,
Emperors of the East.

LEO VII.

The Hundred and twenty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

LEO, the Seventh of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, was chosen, with one Consent, by the Clergy and People to succeed the deceased Pope. He was himself the only Person that opposed his Election, but was in the End obliged to yield, and accept the offered Dignity. *Flodoard*, who went to *Rome* in his Pontificate, and was there personally acquainted with him, calls him a *Servant of God*, and speaks of him as one endowed with every Virtue becoming a Person in his high Station. He spared no Pains to restore the decayed ^{Leo's Election and Character.}

c. Luitprand, l. iii. c. 12.

Discipline, and redress the Abuses, that prevailed not in the *Roman* only, but in most other Churches.

Hugh King of Italy and Alberic Lord of Rome reconciled by his means.

As the Disagreement between *Hugh* King of *Italy*, and *Alberic* Lord of *Rome*, occasioned great Disturbances, some of the *Italian* Princes siding with the one, and some with the other, the Pope undertook, in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, to reconcile the Two opposite Parties. With that View he sent for *Odo*, the Second Abbot of *Cluny*, who, he knew, was highly esteemed and respected by the King. *Odo* interposed, as directed by the Pope, and not only a Peace, but an Alliance was concluded by his Means between the Two Princes, *Alberic* marrying the King's Daughter, and the King thereupon engaging not to disturb him in the Possession of *Rome* and its Dukedom ^a. This holy Monk was likewise employed by the Pope in restoring the famous Monastery of *St. Paul* at *Rome* to its former Discipline; and he succeeded therein to the great Satisfaction of the whole *Roman* Clergy, as well as of his Holiness, flattering himself, that the other Monasteries of *Rome*, encouraged by the Example of those Monks, would reform themselves ^b.

Leo's Letter concerning Abuses that prevailed in the German Churches.

Leo sent the Pall to *Gerhard*, Bishop of *Lorch*, and thus restored that See to the Archiepiscopal Dignity, which it had formerly enjoyed ^c. *Gerhard* went afterwards to *Rome*, to inform the Pope of several Abuses that obtained in the *German* Churches, and beg his Holiness to correct them. The Pope, in Compliance with his Request, wrote a Letter addressed to the Kings, Dukes, Archbishops, and Bishops in those Parts, exhorting them to join in extirpating, with their temporal as well as their spiritual Power, the many Dis-

His Answers to some Questions.

orders which, he was informed, prevailed among them. In that Letter he answered the Questions, that *Gerhard* had proposed to him, in order to their being known to all. These were, whether Witches, Enchanters, and Wizards should be put to Death; whether the Lord's Prayer should be said before and after Meals; and whether the Children of married Priests should be admitted to holy Orders. In Answer to these Questions the Pope leaves Enchanters, &c. to the Rigour of the Laws, issued by the Civil Power against them, declaring, at the same time, that it is no Sin to punish them with Death. He will not allow the Lord's Prayer to be said at Meals,

^a Luitprand, l. iv. c. i. Vit. Odon. t. ix. p. 595.

^b Vit. Odon.

^c Concil.

Steph. VIII. or IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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as being appropriated, according to him, to the Sacrifice of the Mass. ^{Year of Christ 937.} As for the Marriages of Priests, he condemns them as highly criminal, orders those, who have contracted them, to be deposed, but thinks, that *the Son should not bear the Iniquity of the Father*. In the same Letter the Pope forbids the Chorepiscopi to consecrate Churches, ordain Priests, or administer Confirmation; declares it unlawful for a Man to marry his Godmother or God-daughter, and closes his Letter with enjoining the Bishops to obey *Gerhard* as their Metropolitan, and Vicar in those Parts of the Apostolic See ^d.

We have another Letter of this Pope, addressed to *Hugh*, Abbot ^{His Letter to the Abbot of St. Martin at Tours.} of the Monastery of *St. Martin*, in the City of *Tours*, wherein he finds Fault with him for suffering Women to enter that Monastery, and excommunicates any Woman who shall thenceforth set Foot within the Walls. This Letter is dated the Ninth of *January* of the Eleventh Indiction, that is, of the Year 938, in the Third Year of his Pontificate; so that he was ordained before the Ninth of *January* 936, and must therefore have died about the Eighteenth of *July* ^{Dies.} 939, if he held the See, as we read in the best Chronologers, Three ^{Year of Christ 939.} Years Six Months and Ten Days. As in One of his Letters, Part of which has reached our Times, he calls *St. Benedict* his Father, *Maillon* from thence concludes him to have been a Monk of that Order; which is not at all improbable, the rather as he is stiled by *Floard* a *Servant of God*, a Title commonly given, in those Days, to Monks.

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS,
Emperors of the East.

STEPHEN VIII. or IX.

The Hundred and twenty-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

STEPHEN VIII. or IX. was raised to the See after *Leo*. He ^{Stephen succeeds Leo.} was by Birth a *German*, according to *Platina*. But *Ciaconius* ^{Was so disgraced in the Face by Order of Alberic, that he was ashamed to appear in public.} will have him, upon whose Authority we know not, to have been a Native of *Rome*, only brought up in *Germany*. As he was chosen against the Will of *Alberic*, who continued to tyrannize at *Rome*, he was by some of his Partisans so cut and disfigured in the Face, that he

^d Auct. ubi supra.

O 2,

was

Year of
Christ 939.

was ever after ashamed to appear in public ^a. What some have written, viz. that *Stephen* was placed on the Chair by *Otho*, King of *Germany*, though opposed by *Alberic*, by the *Roman* People and the Clergy, has not the least Foundation in Truth or in History, *Otho* being then too much engaged in domestic Wars, and at too great a Distance from *Rome*, to concern himself with the Election of the Pope, or with any thing else that happened there ^b.

The Pope
sends the
Pall to Hugh
Archbishop of
Reims.

Year of
Christ 942.

The first Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his acknowledging *Hugh*, the Son of Count *Herbert*, for Archbishop of *Reims*, and sending him the Pall. *Hugh* had been chosen, by the Interest of his Father, Archbishop of that City when he was but Five Years old, as has been related above. But *Rodulph*, Duke of *Burgundy*, having made himself Master of *Reims*, drove *Hugh* from that See, and appointed *Artold*, Monk of the Monastery of St. *Remigius*, Archbishop in his room. But *Artold* being, in 940, driven out by the opposite Party in his Turn, *Hugh* was restored, and the following Year consecrated in a Council of Bishops at *Soissons*, though at that time only Eighteen Years of Age. The Bishops, who ordained him, dispatched one of their Body to *Rome* for the Pall, which *Stephen* readily granted, though it had been sent to *Artold* by *John XI.* but a few Years before ^c.

He zealously
espouses the
Cause of
Lewis d'
Outremer.

The same Year 942 the Pope, zealously espousing the Cause of *Lewis*, surnamed *d'Outremer*, the Son of *Charles the Simple*, against his rebellious Subjects, dispatched a Bishop named *Damasus*, into *France* with Letters addressed to the *French* Lords, as well as to the People of *France* and *Burgundy*. In these Letters the Pope exhorted them to submit to their lawful Sovereign, and obey him whom God had placed over them, since they could not disobey him without disobeying God himself, who would not suffer their Disobedience to pass unrevenged. The Pope, in the Close of his Letter commands them, by virtue of his Apostolic Authority, to acknowledge *Lewis* for their King, to lay down their Arms, and send Deputies to *Rome* to acquaint him with their having done so, threatening them with Excommunication, if they did not comply with these his Apostolic Injunctions before the ensuing Christmas ^d.

Sends again
for the Abbot
of Cluny.

As *Hugh* King of *Italy*, and *Alberic* Prince of *Rome*, fell out anew, and their Disagreement was likely to involve all *Italy* in a

^a Baron. ad ann. 940.
^c Flodoard Hist. l. iv. c. 28.

^b Vide Papebroch. in Concil. Chronic. Historic.
^d Idem in Chron.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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Civil War, the Pope sent for *Odo*, by whose means they had been reconciled before, in order to his mediating again a Peace between them. The holy Abbot, in compliance with the Pope's Request, repaired immediately to *Rome*. But being taken ill soon after his Arrival there, he was obliged to return to *Tours*, where he died in a very short time. The Pope did not long outlive him. For the Abbot's Death is said to have happened in *November 942*^e, and Pope *Stephen's* about the Beginning of *December* of the same Year, after he had presided in the See Three Years Four Months and Five Days.

Year of
Christ 942.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 942.

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS,
Emperors of the East.

MARINUS II. or

MARTINUS III.

The Hundred and twenty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

STEPHEN was succeeded by *Marinus II. or Martin*. this Pope being by some named *Marinus*, and by others *Martinus*. *Baronius* tells us, upon the Authority of an antient Manuscript lodged in the *Vatican Library*, that *Marinus* was a Native of *Rome*, and a great Friend to the Poor; that he rebuilt, repaired, and adorned several Churches; that he strove, to the utmost of his Power, to restore the decayed Discipline, to reform the Monasteries, and reconcile the Christian Princes then at War^a. What *Baronius* writes is confirmed by *Platina* in his Life of this Pope. He seems to have had a particular Regard for the Monks; and we have some Rescripts or Bulls of his, granting Privileges and Exemptions to them and their Monasteries^b. He wrote a very severe Letter to *Scio* Bishop of *Capua*, censuring him for his Ignorance of the Canons, for his Intimacy with Seculars, and his utter Disregard for the Laws of the Church. What drew these harsh Censures upon him was his having settled upon one of his Deacons a Church with its Revenues, which his Predecessor had granted to the *Benedictine* Monks in order to their building a Monastery. The Pope orders the Bishop to restore to the Monks,

The Election
and Character
of *Marinus*.

A great
Friend to
the Monks.

^a Flodoard in Chron. cileg. tom. iii. p. 464. et Ughell. tom. i. col. 133.

^b Baron. ad ann. 943.

^c Apud Dacher. Spi-

without

Year of
Christ 945.

without Delay, what he had taken from them, upon pain of Excommunication and Deposition, and declares the Monastery, that was to be built, exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Capua* and his Successors in that Sec. As for the Deacon, to whom the Grant of that Church had been made, the Pope forbids the Bishop to have ever thenceforth any Intercourse with him, even at the Altar, and threatens him with Excommunication, if he paid not due Obedience to his Order^c.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 946.

Marinus held the Sec, according to the most probable Opinion, Three Years, Six Months, and Thirteen Days; and consequently must have died some Time in *June* 946; and his Death is accordingly placed by *Flodoard* at that Year^d.

CONSTANTINE,
ROMANUS,
Emperors of the East.

AGAPETUS II.

The Hundred and twenty-ninth BISHOP of Rome.

Agapetus.

A *AGAPETUS* II. the Successor of *Marinus*, by Birth a *Roman*, was ordained before the Twenty-second of *June* 946. For we have a Letter of his bearing that Date of the Eleventh Indiction, which coincides with the Year 946; so that he was, at that Time, in Possession of the Sec^a. As the Disagreement between *Hugh*, King of *Lombardy*, and *Alberic* Lord of *Rome*, occasioned great Disturbances in that City, especially at the electing of a new Pope, *Agapetus* undertook, as soon as he was raised to the Sec, to reconcile them^e. But what Success attended his Negotiations we know not, *Hugh* being this very Year driven out of *Italy* by *Berengarius*, the Grandson of the Emperor *Berengarius* by his Daughter.

Council of
Ingelheim.

As the Sec of *Reims* was claimed by *Hugh* and by *Artold*, and both had received the Pall from *Rome*, a Council was appointed to meet at *Ingelheim* in the Diocese of *Cologne* in order to determine whose Claim was best grounded. The Pope sent *Marinus*, Bishop of *Polymartis*, to preside at it in his Name; and it consisted of Thirty-one Bishops besides him, the Two Kings *Otho* of *Germany*, and *Lewis d'Outremer* of *France* being present in Person. The

^c Leo Ostiens. l. i. c. 60.
Ravenn. l. v.

^d Flodoard in Chron.

^e Rubens Hist.

Agapetus II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Council met on the Seventh of *June* 948, and the Two Competitors were summoned to appear; with that Summons *Artold* readily complied; but *Hugh* declining, upon various Pretences, to stand to the Judgment of that Assembly, the Bishops declared with one Voice *Artold* lawful Bishop of *Reims*, and at the same Time thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against *Hugh*, as one, who had, contrary to the Canons, intruded himself into that See. The same Sentence was at the same Time pronounced against *Hugh*, surnamed *the Great or the White*, if he did not, within a limited Time, quit the Party of the Rebels, and acknowledge *Lewis* for his lawful Sovereign^b. From that Time *Artold* held undisturbed the See of *Reims* till his Death, that is, till the Year 961.

Year of
Christ 948.

The same Year 948, the Legate *Marinus* presided at another Council held at *Treves*, and by that Council was confirmed the Sentence of the Council of *Ingelheim* against Count *Hugh* guilty of Rebellion and Treachery, of driving Bishops from their Sees on account of their steady Attachment to their Prince, and seizing on their Revenues. The Bishops, who had ordained *Hugh* Archbishop of *Reims*, were likewise excommunicated, and suspended from all Episcopal Functions till they satisfied the Legates, and publicly acknowledged their Fault^c. The Acts of both these Councils were confirmed the following Year by the Pope in a Council, which he assembled at *Rome*, upon the Return of the Legate, and Count *Hugh* was excommunicated the Third Time, as he still continued at the Head of the Rebels^d.

Council of
Treves.

The Acts of
both Councils
confirmed by
the Pope.

Year of
Christ 949.

The same Year the Pope confirmed all the Privileges that had been granted by his Predecessors to the See of *Hamburg*, and appointed *Adaldagus*, who then held that Archiepiscopal See, his Vicar, with full Power to ordain Bishops in *Denmark*, lately converted to the Christian Faith, as well as in the neighbouring Countries^e.

The following Year a Dispute arising, or rather the ancient Dispute being revived between *Harold*, Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, and *Gerard*, Archbishop of *Lorch*, concerning the Metropolitan Dignity, *Agapetus* interposed, and dividing the Province of *Pannonia*, over which each of them claimed a Jurisdiction independent of the other, subjected Western *Pannonia* to the See of *Saltzburg*, and the Eastern Part of that Province with the Country of the *Avars*, of

Agapetus di-
vides Pan-
nonia into
Two Archbi-
shops.

Year of
Christ 950.

^b Concil. tom. ix. p. 623.
ad ann. 949.

^c Flodoard in Chron. ad ann. 948.
^e Adam. Bremen. l. ii. c. 2.

^d Idem

Year of
Christ 950.

the *Moravians* and the *Sclavonians*, to the See of *Lorch*, granted to both the Metropolitan Dignity, and distinguished both with the Pall e.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 956.

Agapetus sent likewise the Pall to *Bruno*, Brother to *Otho*, King of *Germany*, upon his being preferred to the See of *Cologne*, and to *Odo*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and this is all we read of *Agapetus*, though he presided in the See Ten Years and about Three Months. He is stiled by the Writer of the Life of St. *Bruno*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, a *Man of wonderful Sanctity* f, and most other Writers place him among the few good Popes of this Century.

His Character.

CONSTANTINE,
Emperor of the East.

J O H N X I I .

OTHO,
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirtieth BISHOP of Rome.

John XII.
intrudes him-
self into the
See.

UPON the Death of *Agapetus*, *Octavianus* the Son of *Alberic*, who had succeeded his Father in the usurped Sovereignty of *Rome*, seized on the See, though then, at most, but Eighteen Years of Age. Being raised to the Chair, he took the Name of *John*, that of his Uncle Pope *John XI.* and he is the First Pope that changed his Name.

Makes War
upon the
Prince of
Capua and
is defeated.
Year of
Christ 957.

The First Thing we find recorded of this Pope is, his raising Troops and marching in Person, at the Head of a considerable Army, against *Pandulph*, Prince of *Capua*, but upon what Provocation History does not inform us. *Pandulph*, finding his Dominions thus unexpectedly invaded by the young Pope, had recourse to *Girulph*, Prince of *Salerno*, who readily joined him with all his Forces, as he apprehended, that the Pope would next fall upon him. The Two Princes, taking the Field with their joint Forces, met the Pope as he was advancing to *Capua* to lay Siege to that Place, and a Battle thereupon ensuing, *John's* Army was entirely defeated, and he himself narrowly escaped falling into the Hands of the provoked Princes a.

Invites Otho
into Italy.
Year of
Christ 961.

This Defeat made the Pope lay aside all Thoughts of extending his Dominions or encroaching upon the neighbouring Princes; and

a. Concil. tom. ix. p. 618.
Baron. ad ann. 957.

f Rotgerus. vit. Brunon. c. 23.

* Apud

therefore

John XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

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therefore disbanding his Army, he returned to *Rome*, and there abandoned himself to all Manner of Wickedness and Debauchery. But in the mean time *Berengarius* King of *Italy*, and his Son *Adelbert*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Kingdom, governing in a most tyrannical Manner, and loading with most exorbitant Taxes the Clergy as well as the Laity, the *Romans* themselves not excepted, the Pope resolved to apply for Redress to *Otho*, King of *Germany*, a Prince no less renowned for his Justice and Virtue, than his warlike Exploits, and the Conquests he had made. *John* dispatched accordingly into *Germany*, *John* Cardinal Deacon, and *Azo*, Keeper of the Records of the *Roman* Church, to represent to the King the deplorable Condition, to which the Two Tyrants had reduced not only the *Roman* Church but all *Italy*, and entreat him to hasten to their Rescuc. The Legates were enjoined to offer the Imperial Crown to the King of *Germany*, provided he drove out the Tyrants, and delivered the Mother of all Churches from the Miseries she groaned under, and could no longer bear. At the same Time came Deputies to *Otho* from most of the Bishops and Princes of *Italy*, all complaining of the tyrannical Government of *Berengarius* and his Son, and imploring his Protection. They all assured him, that the *Italian* Princes would readily join him, and assist him to the utmost of their Power, and acknowledge him, as soon as he appeared, for their King.

Year of
Christ 961.

Promises to
crown him
Emperor.

As *Otho* had no other Wars at that Time on his Hands, he could not withstand so tempting an Offer; and having therefore assembled the Flower of his Army, he went first to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, caused his Son *Otho* to be there anointed King of *Germany*, though then only Seven Years old, and from thence pursuing his March, he entered *Italy*, and advanced, without Opposition, to *Pavia*, the Troops of *Berengarius* flying every-where before him, and the *Italians* flocking from all Quarters to join him. At *Pavia* he was met by most of the Princes and Bishops of *Italy*; and having kept his Christmas there, he resumed his March after the Holidays, and arrived, the Enemy not daring to appear, without the least Interruption, at *Rome*. He was met at the Gate by the Clergy in a Body, by the Nobility, and Crowds of People, and attended by them with loud Acclamations to the *Vatican*. He was there received by the Pope, and after performing his Devotions at the Tomb of St. *Peter*, was crowned and anointed Emperor with the usual Solemnity. On this Occasion the

Othomarches
into Italy.
Year of
Christ 962.

Goes to
Rome and
is there
crowned Em-
peror.

Year of
Christ 962.

Emperor, at the Request of the Pope, promised upon Oath to defend the *Roman* Church against all her Enemies, to maintain her in the quiet Possession of all the Privileges she had enjoyed to that Time, to restore to the Holy See the Lands and Possessions that belonged to St. *Peter*, as soon as he recovered them, to assist the Pope to the utmost of his Power, when his Assistance was wanted, and lastly, to make no Alteration in the Government of *Rome* without his Knowledge or Approbation. At the same Time the Emperor confirmed all the Grants of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*^b; but obliged, in his Turn, the Pope and the *Romans* to swear Obedience to him, and promise upon Oath to lend no Kind of Assistance to *Berengarius* or to his Son *Adelbert*, from whose Tyranny he was come to deliver them. The Coronation of *Otho* happened before the Thirteenth of *February* 962; for we have a Diploma of his bearing that Date, wherein he styles himself Emperor^c.

Famous Diploma of the Emperor *Otho* still to be seen at *Rome*.

That Diploma, in Letters of Gold, is still to be seen in the Castle of St. *Angelo* at *Rome*; and it is thereby enacted, that the Election of the Pope shall thenceforth be made after the Manner prescribed by the Canons; that none shall disturb the Election on Pain of Banishment; that the Elect shall not be ordained till his Election is confirmed by the Emperor, and Deputies are sent by him to assist, in his Name, at that Ceremony; that the new Pope shall promise, in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys, to injure no Man in his Property; that they, who have been any ways injured, may apply either to the Commissaries of the Pope, or to those of the Emperor residing in *Rome*, and have their Grievances redressed, and Justice done them by either. Thus was the Empire transferred from the *Italian* to the *German* Princes, by the free Election of an oppressed People, inviting him to their Relief, and putting themselves, of their own Accord, under his Protection.

The Pope revolts from the Emperor. Year of Christ 963.

The Emperor, in his Turn, made the Pope swear Allegiance to him, and promise upon Oath to lend no Assistance to *Berengarius* or to *Adelbert* his Son. But no sooner was *Otho* gone, than forgetting his Oath, though taken upon the Body of St. *Peter*, he began privately to correspond with *Adelbert*, who had taken Refuge among the *Saracens*; and he at last openly declared for him, and ad-

^b Luitprand, l. vi. c. 6. Regino ad ann. 962. Flodoard, in Chron. Gratian. Dist. 63.
^c Apud Baron. ad ann. 962.

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mitted him, with all his Followers, into *Rome*. The Emperor, upon the first Intelligence he received of the Pope's corresponding with his Enemies, dispatched Embassadors to *Rome* to put him in Mind of the Oath he had taken, and at the same Time to enquire of the *Romans* what could have induced him to infringe the Treaty, which he had but lately concluded, and sworn to observe. The Embassadors met with a very indifferent Reception from the Pope; and the *Romans* gave them a most shocking Account of the debauched Life which he publicly led, to the Disgrace of the Apostolic See, and their holy Religion itself. They told the Embassadors, that he carried on, in the Eyes of the whole City, a criminal Commerce with one *Rainera*, ^{His Debaucheries.} the Widow of one of his Soldiers; that he had given her the Government of several Cities, and presented her with Crosses and Chalice of Gold belonging to the Church of St. *Peter*; that he publicly kept another Concubine, named *Stephania*, who lately died in the Delivery of a Child she had by him; that he had changed the *Late-ran* Palace, once the Abode of Saints, into a Brothel, and there co-habited with his Father's Concubine the Sister of *Stephania*; that Women were afraid to come from other Countries to visit the Tombs of the Apostles at *Rome*; that he spared none, and had, within these few Days, forced married Women, Widows, and Virgins, to comply with his impure Desires. They added, that the Devil hated not more his Creator than Pope *John* did the Emperor, apprehending that he might, as a Prince of great Piety, and strictly religious, call him to an Account and punish him for his Debaucheries, and that he therefore wanted an *Adelbert* to protect and defend him d.

The Emperor, informed by his Embassadors, upon their Return, Otho of the wicked and scandalous Life the Pope led, said no more than that he was yet a Child, and might mend his Manners by the Example of good Men and retrieve. But when he received certain Intelligence of his having openly declared for *Adelbert*, and even admitted him into *Rome*, he raised the Siege of *Montefeltro*, where *Berengarius* had shut himself up, and marched with his whole Army against the Pope and his new Ally. But they no sooner heard of his March, than despairing of being able to withstand so great a Force, they plundered the Church of St. *Peter*, and fled, carrying along with them all the Wealth they found there. The Emperor entered *Rome* at the Head

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Christ 963.

X

marches to
Rome.

The Pope a-
bandons the
City and flies.

d Luitprand, l. vi. c. 6.

x Verified by Catholic P² Encyclopedia of

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Christ 963.

of his Army, was received by the Clergy, the Nobility and the People, as their Deliverer, with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, and attended by them to the Castle of *St. Paul*, which his Friends had surprised before the Flight of the Pope, and prepared for his Reception. During his Stay there, the *Romans* renewed, of their own Accord, the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to him, and at the same Time solemnly promised to give no Kind of Assistance to *Berengarius*, to *Adelbert*, or to any of his Enemies, and never to elect a Pope, nor suffer a Pope to be ordained without his Consent, or that of his Son.

The Emperor
assembles a
Council at
Rome to
try the Pope.

The Emperor, having settled the civil Government of the City, assembled in the next Place, by the Advice of the Prelates who attended him, a Council in order to examine into the Conduct of the Pope, and give him an Opportunity of clearing himself, if he was innocent, from the many Crimes that were laid to his Charge. At this Council the Emperor presided in Person, and were present Thirteen Cardinal Priests, Three Cardinal Deacons, the Archbishops of *Hamburg* and *Treves*, the Bishops of *Minden* and *Spire*, and almost all the Bishops of *Italy*, with many Priests, Deacons, and the chief Nobility of *Rome*. The Pope was summoned by the Council and the Emperor to appear and answer the many Accusations lodged against him. But as he did not comply with the Summons, the Council met after waiting some Time for his Answer; and upon the Emperor's asking the *Italian* Bishops, why his Holiness absented himself from so venerable an Assembly, all answered with one Voice, "we are surprised that you should not know what is well known to the *Babylonians*, the *Iberians*, and even to the *Indians*. So public are his Crimes; and he is so lost to all Shame, that he does not even attempt to conceal them." The Emperor desired them to mention

Crimes laid
to his Charge.

each Crime in particular that they laid to his Charge. Hereupon *Peter*, Cardinal Bishop, rising up, declared, that he had seen him say Mass without communicating; *John*, Bishop of *Narni*, and *John*, Cardinal Deacon, attested, that they had seen him ordain a Deacon in a Stable; *Benedict*, Deacon, with other Deacons and Priests said, that they knew for certain that he had ordained Bishops for Money, and had, among the rest, ordained a Child, but Ten Years old, Bishop of *Todi*. They added, that they knew likewise for certain, that he carried on a

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candalous Intrigue with the Widow of *Rainerius*, with *Stephania*, his Father's Concubine, and at the same Time with one named *Ann* and her Niece; that he had turned the holy Palace into a Brothel; had publicly hunted; had put out the Eyes of *Benedict*, his ghostly Father, who died of the Anguish; had caused *John*, Cardinal Sub-deacon, to be made an Eunuch, which occasioned his Death; had set several Houses on fire; and had been frequently seen clad in Armour with a Sword by his Side. Many Clerks as well as Laymen assured the Emperor and the Fathers of the Council, that he had, to their certain Knowledge, drank Wine in Honour of the Devil; that in playing at Dice he had invoked *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and the other Pagan Deities; that he never said Mattins, nor any other canonical Hours, nor ever signed himself with the Sign of the Cross ^f.

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Christ 963.

As the Emperor only spoke the *Saxon* Language, which the *Romans* did not understand, he ordered *Luitprand*, Bishop of *Cremona*, to address the Assembly in *Latin*, as follows: "It too often happens, as Experience teaches us, that Men, raised to high Stations, are envied and calumniated by their Inferiors, I therefore conjure you in the Name of God, whom no Man can deceive, of his immaculate Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, and by the Body of St. *Peter*, in whose Church we are, not to alledge any Crime against our Lord the Pope, of which you do not know him for certain to be guilty." To this the whole Synod answered with one Voice, "If Pope *John* is not guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and of many other still more detestable Enormities, may St. *Peter*, who opens the Gates of Heaven to the Just, and shuts them against the Unworthy, never absolve us from our Sins, and let us be placed on the left Hand at the last Day. If you do not believe us, believe your Army, who beheld him but Five Days ago, having a Sword by his Side, and armed with a Shield, with a Helmet, and a Cuirass." They were separated from him only by the *Tyber*, which prevented them from taking him thus accoutred. The Emperor answered, "There are as many Witnesses of it, as there are Soldiers in my Army." Though the Crimes, of which he was arraigned, were all fully proved, yet the Synod begged he might be heard before he was condemned; and that being agreed to by the Emperor, the following Letter was written and sent to him, in the Name of the Emperor, and the Bishops who composed that Assembly.

Speech of the
Bishop of
Cremona
to the Council
in the
Emperor's
Name.

^f Luitprand, l. vi. c. 7.

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Christ 963.
Letter to the
Pope from
the Emperor
and the Coun-
cil.

“ Being come to *Rome* for the Service of God, and not finding you here, we asked the *Roman* Bishops, the Cardinals, Presbyters, Deacons, and People, why you had withdrawn from the City at our Arrival, and would not see your Defenders, and the Defenders of your Church. They, in their Answer, charged you with such Obscenities, as would make us blush, were they said of a Stage-player. I shall mention to you a few of the Crimes that are laid to your Charge; for it would require a whole Day to enumerate them all. Know then that you are accused, not by some few, but by all the Clergy as well as the Laity, of Murder, Perjury, Sacrilege, and Incest with your own Relations, and Two Sisters; that you are said to have drunk Wine in Honour of the Devil, and to have invoked, at Play, *Jupiter, Venus*, and the other Demons. We therefore earnestly entreat you to come and clear yourself from these Imputations. If you are afraid of being insulted by the Multitude, we promise you upon Oath, that nothing shall be done but what is warranted by the Canons.” The Direction of this Letter was, *To our Lord John, High Pontiff and Universal Pope, the Emperor Otho, and the Archbishops of Liguria, Tuscany, Saxony, and France, greeting.*

The Pope's
Letter to the
Council.

To this Letter the Pope returned the following laconic Answer. *John*, Servant of the Servants of God, to all Bishops. We hear that you want to make another Pope. If that is your Design, I excommunicate you all in the Name of the Almighty, that you may not have it in your Power to ordain any other, or even to celebrate Mass.” While the Bishops were reading this Letter several other Bishops arrived, and among the rest, *Hericus*, Archbishop of *Treves*; and with their Advice the Council returned the following

The Council's
Answer.

ing Answer to the Pope's Letter: “ If you come to the Council, and clear yourself from the Crimes that are laid to your Charge, we shall pay all due Respect to your Authority. But if you do not come, and are not detained by lawful Impediment, as you have no Seas to cross, nor a very long Journey to perform, we shall make no Account of your Excommunication, but retort it upon you. The Traitor *Judas* received of our Lord the Power of binding and loosening as well as the other Apostles; and with that Power he was vested so long as he continued faithful to his divine Master and Lord. But by betraying him he forfeited all his Power

“ and

John XII.

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III

" and Authority, and could thenceforth bind none but himself." Year of Christ 963.
The Bishops were, it seems, all Strangers to the Doctrine, that the Pope is to judge all Mankind, and be judged by none.

With this Letter were sent *Hadrian*, Presbyter Cardinal, and *Benedict* Cardinal Deacon: But arriving at the *Tyber* they were informed, that the Pope was gone, with a Quiver upon his Shoulder, Nobody knew whither. The Letter was therefore brought back, and the Council being assembled the Third Time, the Emperor addressed the Bishops thus: " We have waited for *John* in order to lay our Complaints against him before you in his Presence. But now, as we find that he is determined not to appear, I shall briefly acquaint you with, and leave you to judge of his Conduct towards me. When he was grievously oppressed by the Two Tyrants, *Berengarius* and *Adelbert*, he dispatched Messengers to us into *Saxony*, beseeching us to hasten to *Italy*, and deliver the Church of St. *Peter* and himself from the Calamities they groaned under. I complied with his Request; and I need not tell you what I have done, as you have all seen it. However, forgetting the Fidelity, which he swore to me upon the Body of St. *Peter*, he entered into an Alliance with *Adelbert*, invited him to *Rome*, supported him against me, raised Seditions in the City, and arming himself with a Cuirass, appeared thus armed in the Sight of my Army. Let him be judged by the Synod."

The Council replied, " Such an extraordinary Evil must be cured by an extraordinary Remedy. Had he hurt none but himself, he might, in some Degree, be borne with: But how many has his Example perverted? How many, who would, in all Likelihood, have led a pure and irreproachable Life, have abandoned themselves to all Manner of Wickedness? We beg therefore, that this Monster, without One single Virtue to atone for his many Vices, may be driven from the Holy Apostolic See, and another, who will set us a good Example, be put in his room." " It is our Pleasure," replied the Emperor, " and nothing will give us greater Satisfaction, than your raising to the Holy Apostolic See a Person of that Character."

8 Luitprand, l. vi. c. 3:

LEO.

Year of
Christ 963.

NICEPHORUS PHOCAS
Emperor of the East.

LEO VIII.

OTHO
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-first BISHOP of Rome.

Leo chosen in
the room of
the deposed
Pope.

JOH^N being deposed by the Emperor and the Council, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, chose with one Voice *Leo VIII.* of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of *John*, formerly Protoscriarius, or First Keeper of the Records, which Office *Leo* exercised at the Time of his Election. He is supposed to have been ordained on the Sixth of *December* 963, and in the Presence of the Emperor who was then at *Rome*.

John stirs up
the Romans
against the
Emperor.

As the *Romans* seemed all extremely well pleased with their new Pope, and the City enjoyed a perfect Tranquility, the Emperor, to relieve the Inhabitants, dismissed the greater Part of his Army. Of this the deposed Pope was no sooner informed, than he began, by his Emissaries, to tamper with the *Romans*, and stir them up to Rebellion, promising to reward them with the immense Wealth of the Church of *St. Peter*, which he had taken with him, if they murdered the Emperor and his new Pope, the Usurper of the Holy See. The leading Men in the City hearkened to the Offer, and as no Men, says the Historian, are more greedy of, and more easily corrupted with Money than the *Romans*, they were soon prevailed upon to engage in so wicked an Attempt; and they conducted it with such Secresy, that at the Day appointed, the Second of *January* 964, the whole City was in Arms, without the Emperor's having ever received the least Intimation of their Design. They marched in Battle Array to the Emperor's Quarters on the other Side of the *Tyber*. But his advanced Guards taking the Alarm, the few Troops he had with him drew in an instant together, and marching, with their brave Commander at their Head, met the *Romans* as they were passing the Bridge, engaged them, put them, at the First Onset, to Flight, and pursued them with great Slaughter, till the Emperor, touched with Compassion, put a Stop to their Fury. The next Day Pope *Leo* interposed in behalf of the Rebels, and at his Request the good-natured Prince granted them all a free Pardon, upon their taking anew an Oath

Who defeats
but forgives
them.

Year of
Christ 964.

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Oath of Allegiance, and delivering up Hostages for the Observance of that Oath^a. Year of Christ 964.

Some few Days after, the Emperor resolved to leave *Rome*, and repair to *Spoleti* and *Camerino*, being informed, that *Adelbert* had appeared in those Dukedoms. Before he set out, the Pope persuaded him to return the Hostages, assuring him that by such a Mark of Confidence he would rivet himself in the Favour of the *Romans*, and engage for ever their Affection as well as their Fidelity. He did so; but he was scarce gone when a new Revolution ensued. For several Women of great Distinction, with whom the young debauched Pope used to riot and pass the greater Part of his Time, no longer able to bear his Absence, formed a Design of murdering *Leo* and restoring *John* to the See. They communicated their Design to several Persons of Rank, and by them the deposed Pope was unexpectedly brought back, was admitted into the City, and attended, in a Kind of Triumph, to the *Lateran* Palace. *Leo* had the good Luck to make his Escape to the Emperor then at *Camerino*. But Two of his Friends were seized, *viz.* *John*, Cardinal Deacon, and *Azo* the Protoscrinarius; and *John* ordered immediately the Right Hand of the former to be cut off, and the Tongue, Nose, and Two Fingers of the latter. At the same Time *Otger*, Bishop of *Spire*, was whipt by his Command till he was ready to expire^b. Conspiracy against Leo;

In the next Place *John* assembled a Council in the Church of St. *Peter*, on the Second of *February* 964, at which were present Sixteen Bishops, some Cardinals, and Seven Priests and Deacons, *John* presiding in Person. It was finished in Three Sessions; in the First, the Council that deposed him was condemned as an unlawful and uncanonical Meeting, *Leo* was deposed, and forbidden, on Pain of being anathematized without Hopes of Absolution, ever to exercise any Episcopal Functions, or attempt the Recovery of the See, which he had, contrary to the Canons and all Laws of Justice usurped, his Ordinations were all declared null, and they, whom he had ordained, stripped in the Council of their sacerdotal Ornaments, and ordered to write these Words upon a Paper, *my Father had nothing, and gave me nothing*, which was owning, that *Leo* had not the Power of conferring Orders, and therefore that they had received none. In the Second Session, they, who had been any-ways accessory to the Usurpa- who is obliged to quit Rome.
John's Cruelty to Leo's Friends.
John assembles a Council in Rome.
Acts of that Council.

^a Luitprand, l. vi. c. 2.

^b Idem ibid.

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Christ 964.

tion of *Leo*, were anathematized, if Laymen or Monks, and, if Ecclesiastics, degraded. In the Third Session *Benedict* of *Porto*, and *Gregory* of *Albano*, who had ordained *Leo*, were suspended from all Episcopal Functions after owning that they had acted contrary to the Canons, and begging Forgiveness. *Sico* of *Ostia*, the Third Bishop concerned in the Ordination of *Leo*, did not appear at the Council, and was therefore deposed without Hopes of being ever restored. By this Council a Canon was issued, forbidding Laymen, on Pain of Excommunication, to stand, during Mass, within the Presbytery, or near the Altar c.

John murdered.

John did not long survive the holding of this Council. For being one Night, soon after, in Bed with a married Woman, the Devil, says the Historian, but more probably the Husband in the Disguise of the Devil, gave him so violent a Blow on the Temple, that he died in a Week, having held the See Seven Years and Two Months before his Deposition, and Five Months more after it. His Death is supposed to have happened on the Fourteenth of *May* 964.

Benedict
chosen by the
Romans in
his room.

Upon the Death of *John*, the *Romans*, persisting in their Rebellion, chose one *Benedict*, a Native of *Rome*, and Protoscrinarius of the *Roman* Church, to succeed him, though they had promised to the Emperor upon Oath to acknowledge no other than *Leo*, so long as he lived, and to suffer no Pope to be thenceforth ordained without his Consent. *Otho* was then busied in reducing the Dukedom of *Cammerino*, but he was no sooner informed of the Election of *Benedict*, than he left that Dukedom, and marching at the Head of his Army to *Rome*, invested the Place so closely on all Sides, that the Inhabitants were, in a very short Time, obliged to submit for Want of Provisions, to open the Gates, and surrender at Discretion, though they had bound themselves by a solemn Oath never to forsake *Benedict*, nor to acknowledge *Leo*, whom they stiled the Emperor's Pope. *Otho*, now Master of the City, ordered, in the First Place, the Bishops who attended him, and those whom he found in *Rome*, to assemble in Council, and settle in the First place the Affairs of the Church. The Bishops met in the *Lateran* Church at the Time appointed, and *Benedict* being brought before them in his Pontifical Robes, *Benedict*, Cardinal Archdeacon, addressed him thus: " By what Authority or by what Law hast thou assumed these Orna-

Otho
marches to
Rome and
obliges the In-
habitants to
surrender.

“ ments in the Life-time of the venerable Pope *Leo*, whom thou
 “ madeſt Choice of together with us in the Room of *John*, whom
 “ we all condemned and rejected? Canſt thou deny thy having pro-
 “ miſed upon Oath to the Emperor never to chuſe nor to ordain a Pope
 “ without his Conſent, or that of his Son King *Otho*?” *Benedict*
 answered, *I have ſinned, take Pity on me*; which Words ſo affected
 the good-natured Emperor, that burſting into Tears he begged the
 Fathers would deal mercifully with him, provided he acknowledged
 his Fault in the Hearing of the whole Council. At theſe Words *Be-*
nediſt, throwing himſelf at *Leo*’s Feet and the Emperor’s, owned
 aloud, that he was an Uſurper, and begged the Pope, the Emperor,
 and the Council to forgive him. He then took off his Pall, and de-
 livered it to the Pope with his Paſtoral Staff, which *Leo* immediately
 broke, and ſhewed it thus broken to the People. After this *Leo* or-
 dered him to ſit down on the Ground, and having ſtrippt him, in that
 Poſture, of all the Pontifical Ornaments, he pronounced the follow-
 ing Sentence; “ We divest *Benedict*, who has uſurped the Holy Apoſ-
 “ tolic See, of the Pontifical Dignity, and the Honour of Prieſthood;
 “ however at the Requeſt of the Emperor, who has reſtored us, we al-
 “ low him to retain the Order of Deacon, but upon Condition that he
 “ quits *Rome*, and goes into perpetual Banishment d.”

Year of
Chriſt 964.

Benedict con-
demned in a
Council, and
diveſted of
the Pontifical
Ornaments.

By this Council a Conſtitution, or Decree, is ſaid to have been
 iſſued, conferring on the Emperor *Otho*, and his Succeſſors for ever, the
 Power of nominating the Pope, and granting the Inveſtiture to Bi-
 ſhops. But whether the ſaid Conſtitution be forged or genuine, is
 not agreed among Authors. *Goldaſtuse*, *de Marca* ^f, and many others,
 maintain it to be genuine; and it is to be met with in *Gratian* ^g and
 in *Theodoric* of *Niem*. However, as in this Conſtitution Mention
 is made of the like Privilege, granted as is there ſuppoſed in 774 by
 Pope *Hadrian* I. to *Charlemagne*, and we have Reaſon to believe,
 that no ſuch Privilege ever was granted by that Pope, I cannot help
 looking upon the Decree or Conſtitution of *Leo* as a Forgery. The
 Reaſons, that incline me to think the Decree of *Hadrian* to be forged,
 are; 1. *Florus Magiſter*, in his Treatiſe of the Election of Biſhops,
 written about the Year 820, ſays it was eſtabliſhed by Cuſtom, that
 the Perſon elected ſhould be approved by the Prince; ſo that he was

Whether the
Decree, con-
ferring on
the Emperor
Otho and
his Succeſſors
the Power of
nominating
the Pope, &c.
be forged or
genuine.

^d Luitprand, l. vi. c. 2.
Concord. l. viii. c. 12, 29.

^e Goldaſt. Conſtitut. Imperial. l. i.
^g Gratian. Diſtinct. l. iii. c. 23.

^f Marca

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Christ 964

quite unacquainted with the pretended Constitution of *Hadrian*; and we cannot suppose he would never have heard of it, if it had been enacted, as is said, in 774, that is but Forty-six Years before, in a Council at *Rome*, consisting of 153 Bishops. 2. *Lupus Ferrariensis* grounds the Right of electing and instituting Bishops, which he vests in the Emperor and in other secular Princes, upon a Constitution issued by Pope *Zachary* in 757, and takes no Kind of Notice of the more recent Constitution of *Hadrian*; a plain Proof that it was not yet heard of in his Time. 3. From One of *Hadrian's* Letters written in 784, it appears, that in the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, when a new Bishop was chosen, the Decree of Election was sent to *Rome*, and the Elect was thereupon ordained by the Pope without the Consent or even the Knowledge of the Emperor. We have another Letter from the same Pope to *Charlemagne* of the Year 787, in Answer to one he had received from that Prince, desiring that the Bishop of *Ravenna* might always be chosen in the Presence of his Deputies. The Pope answered, that this was a new Thing, and that ever since the Time of *Pepin* the Clergy and People of *Ravenna* had chosen their own Bishop, none else interfering, and sent the Decree of Election to the Apostolic See; which is evidently inconsistent with that Pope's having, by a special Decree, vested in the Emperor, ever since the Year 774, the Power of appointing all Bishops throughout his Dominions. Upon the whole, the Decree, ascribed to *Hadrian*, is evidently forged; and consequently that of *Leo*, supposing it genuine, and as such confirming it, must be likewise a Forgery.

In that Decree, as quoted by *Goldastus*^h out of *Theodoric* of *Niem*, who wrote about the Year 1420, *Leo* is made to yield to *Otho* all the Countries and Territories that had been given to the *Roman* Church by other Princes and Emperors. But as *Leo* there gives up many Places, which it is very certain the *Roman* Church never possessed, and many, which she did not possess till long after the Time of this Emperor, that Piece is now universally looked upon as spuriousⁱ.

Leo dies.
Year of
Christ 965.

Leo enjoyed the Pontifical Dignity but a very short Time after his Restoration, for he died in the Beginning of *March* of the following Year 965, after a Pontificate of One Year and Three Months.

As for *Benedict*, styled the Fifth of that Name, by those who acknowledge him for lawful Pope, he was banished to *Hamburgh*,

^h Goldast. p. 36.

ⁱ See Pagi ad ann. 964.

where

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where he died in the Month of *July* of the same Year 965. *Adamus Bremensis* writes, that at *Hamburg* he led a very edifying Life; that he was a Man of uncommon Learning and Parts, and as worthy of the high Station, to which the *Romans* had raised him, as any of his Time^k. *Ditmarus* speaks of him, in his Chronicle, as a Man of great Sanctity, and adds, that, by the Command of *Otho* III. his Remains were translated from *Hamburg* to *Rome*^l.

Year of
Christ 965.

NICEPHORAS PHOCAS
Emperor of the East.

JOHN XIII. OTHO
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-second BISHOP of Rome.

UPON the Death of *Leo* the *Romans*, mindful of their Oath, dispatched *Azzo*, Keeper of the Records, and *Marinus*, Bishop of *Sutri*, into *Saxony*, where the Emperor then was, to desire him to appoint a Successor to the deceased Pope. *Otho*, pleased with this Mark of their Obedience, left them at full Liberty to chuse whom they pleased, but sent with them *Otger*, Bishop of *Spire*, and *Linz*o (perhaps *Luitprand*) Bishop of *Cremona*, to *Rome*, to assist at the Election in his Name. Upon their Arrival the *Romans* chose *Benedict*, then in Exile at *Hamburg*, and even prevailed upon the Emperor to consent to his Promotion^a. But he dying in the mean time, *John* Bishop of *Narni*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of a Bishop of the same Name, was unanimously chosen, and ordained on the First of *October*, which in 965 fell on a Sunday.

John XIII.
chosen.

The new Pope was scarce warm in the Chair, when the *Roman* Nobility, provoked at his haughty Behaviour, and the Power he assumed over them, entered into a Combination against him, and being assisted by the Prefect and by one named *Rotfred*, a leading Man in the City, drove him from *Rome* and obliged him to take Refuge in *Capua*. He was there received with the highest Respect by Prince *Pandolph*, and entertained suitably to his Rank for the Space of Ten Months, that is, till the *Romans* recalled him, hearing that the Emperor was marching with his Army to *Rome* in order to restore him.

Driven out
of Rome,
takes Refuge
in Capua.

^k Adam. Bremens. l. ii. c. 6.
Bremens. ubi supra.

^l Ditmar. Chron. l. ii. c. 3.

^a Adam.

Year of
Christ 965.

*Erects that
City into a
Metropolis.*

Year of
Christ 966.

*Otho
marches to
Rome to re-
store the
Pope.*

*Punishes the
Romans as
Rebels.*

*The Pope
holds a Coun-
cil at Raven-
na.*

Year of
Christ 967.

and punish his Enemies, whom he could not but look upon as Rebels. The Pope, to reward the Prince and People of *Capua* for the Respect and Kindness they had shown him, during his Stay there, erected their City into a Metropolis, and before he set out on his Return to *Rome*, ordained the Brother of the Prince the First Archbishop of the Place ^b.

In the mean time *Otho*, pursuing his March to *Rome*, seized at *Placentia Sigovulfus*, Bishop of the Place, and sent him Prisoner into *Germany* with several *Italian* Counts, who had declared, together with him, for *Adelbert*, and stirred the People up to Rebellion. From *Placentia* he advanced with his Army to *Rome*, and entering the City without Opposition, he ordered the chief Authors of the late Disturbances to be seized, sent the Consuls into Exile, and ordered the Thirteen Tribunes to be hanged. The Prefect had the good Luck to make his Escape. But the rest were all either banished, or condemned to Dungeons for Life, One, and he a Man of the First Distinction, was, by the Command of the Emperor, stript naked, and being set on an Ass most cruelly scourged through the chief Streets of the City, and then banished the Dukedom of *Rome*. The Body of *Rotfred*, who had been murdered by some of the Pope's Partizans, was dug up, was cut in Pieces, and thrown into the Kennels, as unworthy of Christian Burial ^c.

The Emperor, having thus made the *Romans*, who, he found, were not to be gained by gentle Methods, feel the Effects of his Justice, left *Rome* in the Beginning of the following Year, and, after visiting several Cities of *Tuscany*, repaired together with the Pope to *Ravenna*; where a Council was held, consisting of most of the Bishops of *Italy*, and of some from *France* and *Germany*, who attended the Emperor. In that Council the Emperor restored to the Pope the City of *Ravenna* with its Territory, and several other Places, which *Pe-pin* and *Charlemagne* had given to *St. Peter*, but *Berengarius* and *Adelbert* had seized and kept for themselves. In the same Council the Deposition of *Herold*, Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, was confirmed, and likewise the Election of *Frederic*, who had been appointed to succeed him. *Herold* revolting from the Emperor, had joined the Pagans, probably the *Hungarians*, and had been, on that Account,

^b Suppl. Regin. Leo Ostien. l. ii. c. 9. Sigon. l. vii. Canelius in Hist. Metropolitan. Par. 3. Dissert. ii. c. 5.

^c Suppl. Regin. ad ann. 967.

John XIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

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punished with the Loss of his Sight, and driven from his See. But though deprived of his Sight, and suspended from all Episcopal Functions, he continued to celebrate Mass, to wear the Pall, and to act in every other Respect as still vested with the Archiepiscopal Dignity. The Sentence of Deposition was therefore anew pronounced in full Council against him, and all were excommunicated who should thenceforth receive any Ordination whatever at his Hands. This Sentence or Decree is dated the Twenty fifth of *April* 967.

Year of
Christ 967.

Upon the breaking up of the Council the Pope returned to *Rome*, and there passed the remaining Part of his Pontificate without the least Molestation from the *Romans*. The Emperor remained in *Lombardy*, and having there settled the Affairs of his *Italian* Dominions, he assembled, before his Return to *Saxony*, another Council at *Ravenna*, at which were present most of the Bishops, who had assisted at the former. By this Council the City of *Magdeburg* was, at the Desire and Request of the Emperor, erected into an Archiepiscopal See, *Adelbert*, Monk of the Monastery of St. *Maximinus* at *Treves*, was, with the Approbation of the Bishops, appointed by the Emperor the First Archbishop of the Place, and sent to *Rome* for the Pall. The Pope, desirous of obliging the Emperor, not only granted the Pall to the new Archbishop, but declared him Primate of all *Germany*, put him upon the Level with the Archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, made him Metropolitan of the *Sclavonians*, who inhabited the vast Country beyond the *Elbe* and the *Sala*, and were then, or should be afterwards converted to the Faith. At the same Time the Pope ordered Bishoprics to be founded in the following Places, *viz.* at *Zitz*, at *Meissen*, at *Merseburg*, *Brandenburg* and *Poznan*, and these new Bishoprics were all subjected to the Metropolitan See of *Magdeburg*^d.

Magde-
burg erected
into a Metro-
polis.

Year of
Christ 968.

While *Otho* was still at *Ravenna* Embassadors arrived from *Nicephorus Phocas*, Emperor of the East, sent with rich Presents to conclude a Peace between him and the *Latins*. *Otho* received the Greek Embassadors with the greatest Marks of Esteem, sent them back loaded with Presents of great Value for the Emperor, and dispatched with them to *Constantinople* some Persons of the First Rank in the Empire to propose a Match between his Son *Otho*, King of *Germany*, and *Theophania*, Daughter of the late Emperor *Romanus* by *Theophano*, whom *Nicephorus* the present Emperor had married. As the Em-

Otho sends
Embassadors
into the East
to propose a
Marriage
between his
Son Otho
and the
Daughter of
the Emperor
Romanus.

^d Chronograph. apud Mabill. See Benedict v. p. 833.

peror

Year of
Christ 968.

peror proposed to keep his Christmas at *Rome*, the Pope, acquainted therewith, wrote to the King of *Germany*, pressing him to meet his Father there, and visit with him the Tombs of the holy Apostles, the Protectors of his Kingdom as well as of the Church and the Empire. The King readily complied with the Invitation, and being, upon his Arrival at *Rome*, taken by the Emperor for his Partner in the Empire, he was crowned by the Pope on Christmas-day, with the usual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter* ^e.

Young Otho
crowned Em-
peror.

Otho sends
Embassa-
dors into the
East.

From *Rome* the Emperor dispatched a Second Embassy to *Constantinople* to demand *Theophania* in Marriage for his Son *Otho*. But *Nicephorus*, instead of consenting to the proposed Marriage, treated the Embassadors, as well as the Pope's Nuncio, who attended them, with the utmost Contempt. *Luitprand* Bishop of *Cremona*, who was at the Head of the Embassy, writes, that upon their Arrival at *Constantinople*, they were shut up in One of the Imperial Palaces; that they were not suffered to stir from thence, nor were any allowed to come near them; that the Imperial Ministers gave the Emperor of the West no other Title than that of King; that they expressed the greatest Indignation at the Pope's styling him, in his Letter, Emperor of the *Romans*; and that, with respect to the proposed Marriage, the Emperor declared that he would consent to it only upon Condition that *Rome* and *Ravenna* were re-united to the Empire, and that the Pope should thenceforth be elected and ordained in the Presence of his Envoys, agreeably to the Custom that had ever obtained since the earliest Times. *Nicephorus* however condescended to answer *Otho's* Letter, expressing a sincere Desire of living in Peace and Friendship with him, but returned no Answer to the Pope ^f.

Treatment
they met with
there from
Nicephorus.

Beneventum
made a Me-
tropolis.

Year of
Christ 969.

The following Year, in a Council held at *Rome*, at which were present both the Emperors, viz. *Otho* and his Son, the Pope, at their Request, and with the Consent of all the Bishops, who composed that Assembly, raised the See of *Beneventum* to the Rank of a Metropolis, granted the Pall to *Landolphus*, then Bishop of the Place, and subjected to the new Metropolis the Sees of *St. Agatha*, *Avellino*, *Arriano*, *Ascoli*, *Bovino*, *Volturara*, *Larino*, *Telesè*, *Alife*, and *Siponto*. The Decree granting this Dignity and the Privileges attending it to the Bishop of *Beneventum* and his Successors for ever;

^e Suppl. Regin. ad ann. 967.

^f Luitprand, apud Baron. ad ann. 968.

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is subscribed by the Pope, by both Emperors, and Twenty-three Bishops, and dated the Twenty-sixth of *May* 9698.

Year of
Christ 969.

In the mean time the Emperor *Nicephorus Phocas* being murdered, and *John Tzimiskes* raised to the Empire in his room, *Otho* sent a Third Embassy into the East to propose the above-mentioned Marriage to the new Emperor. The Embassadors were received at *Constantinople* with all possible Marks of Esteem, were entertained with the greatest Magnificence, and the Match was no sooner proposed than agreed to by the Emperor and all the great Men of the Empire. *Otho* was no sooner acquainted by his Embassadors with the Success of their Negotiation, than he dispatched some of the First Men of the Empire to attend the Bride from *Constantinople* to *Rome*. She was met there by the Two Emperors; and at their Request the Pope first performed the Marriage Ceremony, and crowned her, the very next Day, with great Pomp and Solemnity, Empress of the West^h.

Marriage
between the
Emperor's
Son and the
Daughter of
Romanu,
who is crown-
ed Empress
at Rome.

Year of
Christ 971.

The following Year the Pope died; and his Death is supposed to have happened on the Fifth or the Sixth of *September*, after he had presided in the See Six Years, Eleven Months, and Five Days. The Inhabitants of *Poland* being converted to the Christian Faith in this Pope's Time, he sent some Bishops from *Rome* to keep them steady in their new Religion, and with the Consent and Concurrence of *Miecslaus*, their First Christian Duke or King, established several Bishoprics in that populous Country, then known by the Name of *Sclavonia*, as the Inhabitants were by that of *Sclavonians*ⁱ. By the same Pope the City of *Prague* was made an Episcopal See, and a Monk of *Saxony*, named *Ditmar*, was chosen the First Bishop of the Place, and ordained by the Archbishop of *Mentz*. None of the Natives were, it seems, acquainted with the *Latin* Language, and the Pope would not allow divine Service to be performed in any other. At the same Time *Mlada*, Sister to *Boleslaus* Duke of *Bohemia*, coming to *Rome* to visit the holy Places there, was, at her Request, allowed by the Pope to found a Monastery for Nuns in the City of *Prague*, and appointed the First Abbess, the Pope only requiring her to exchange the Name of *Mlada* for that of *Maria*^k. *John XIII.* is said to have confirmed in a Council at *Rome*, the Privileges, which King *Edgar*

Death of the
Pope.

Year of
Christ 972.

Poland con-
verted in this
Pope's Time.
Prague made
an Episcopal
See.

He confirmed
the Acts of a
Council held
in London.

^{*} Append. tom. ix. Concil. p. 1238.
gebert ad ann. 971.

See Benedict V. p. 833.

ⁱ Chroner Hist. Polon. ad ann. 965.

^h Chronograph. Hildensheim. et Si-

^k Mabill.

Year of
Christ 972.

The Ceremo-
ny of chri-
stening Bells
not intro-
duced by him.

had granted to the Monastery of *Glassenbury*, in a Council held at *London* in the Thirteenth Year of his Reign, that is 971¹.

The Custom of blessing, or, as is vulgarly called, of christening Bells, is said by *Baronius*^m, to have been first introduced by this Pope, who gave the Name of *John Baptist* to the great Bell of the *Lateran* Church. But that this Custom prevailed long before the Time of *John XIII.* is manifest from the Capitulars of *Charlemagne* in 789, that is, near Two hundred Years before Pope *John*. For in those Capitulars the Christening of Bells is forbidden, *ut cloce non baptizentur*ⁿ. This Custom therefore obtained so early as the Year 789, at least in *France* and *Germany*. Cardinal *Bona* observes, that the Name of some Saint is given to a Bell in its Consecration, that the People may think themselves called to Divine Service by the Voice of the Saint, whose Name the Bell bears^o. *John XIII.* was buried in the Church of *St. Paul*; and there his Epitaph is still to be seen.

JOHN TZIMISCES,
Emperor of the East.

BENEDICT VI.

OTHO I. OTHO II.
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-third BISHOP of Rome.

Benedict
chosen.

BENEDICT, the Sixth of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of one *Hildebrand*, was, upon the Death of *John*, preferred to the Pontifical Chair in his room. He was ordained after the Twenty-eighth of *November*; for we have a Letter of his bearing that Date, which is said to have been *written in 973, the First Year of his Pontificate*, so that on the Twenty-eighth of *November* 973 he had not completed his First Year, and must, consequently have been ordained after that Day. All we find recorded of this Pope besides his tragical Death, is his having extended the Jurisdiction of the Archiepiscopal See of *Saltzburg* over the whole Province of *Noricum*, and all *Pannonia*, whereas his Predecessor *Agapetus*

Extends the
Jurisdiction
of the See of
Saltzburg.

¹ Malmef. l. ii. de reg. c. 8.
de antiq. Eccles. ritib. l. ii. c. 21.

^m Baron. ad ann. 968.
^o Bona rer. Liturg. l. ii. c. 22.

ⁿ Martene

Donus II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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II. had confined the Jurisdiction of that See to *Noricum* and *Lower Pannonia*, and subjected *Upper Pannonia* to the See of *Lorch*^a.

Year so
Christ 972.

In the Second Year of *Benedict's* Pontificate died the Emperor *Otho*, deservedly surnamed *the Great*, and his Son and Successor being diverted by foreign Wars from attending to the Affairs of *Italy*, many of the *Italian* Lords shook off the Yoke, and setting up for Sovereigns tyrannized uncontrouled over those, who were not in a Condition to oppose them. At *Rome* one *Cincius*, having formed a strong Party by exclaiming against the Emperor as a Tyrant, by putting the *Romans* in mind of the late Executions, and exhorting them to recover their former Liberty, attacked unexpectedly the *Lateran* Palace, and seizing on the Pope, who he knew would oppose him, dragged him to Prison, and after keeping him some Time confined in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, caused him to be strangled^b. This is all we know of Pope *Benedict* the Sixth.

Otho the
Great dies.
Year of
Christ 973.

The Pope
imprisoned
and stran-
gled.

Year of
Christ 974.

JOHN TZIMISCES,
Emperor of the East.

DONUS II.

OTHO II.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

BENEDICT being put to Death by the Tyrant *Cincius*, *Donus* II. a Native of *Rome*, was by the *Tusculan* Faction chosen to succeed him. *Hermannus Contractus* does not reckon *Donus* among the Popes. But he is by all other Writers placed in their Catalogues immediately after *Benedict* VI. *Platina* writes, and after him *Stella*, that *Donus* was a Man remarkable for his Modesty and his Integrity, and therefore met with no ill Treatment, but lived unmolested, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*. Upon the Death of *Benedict* VI. one *Franco*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, was raised by the Party of *Cincius* to the See. But the *Tuscan* Party declaring against him, he left *Rome* soon after his Intrusion, and carrying with him the Treasure of *St. Peter* fled to *Constantinople*. It was at his Instigation, and to make Place for him, that *Cincius* ordered *Benedict* to be murdered. He is stiled by *Gerbert*, of all Monsters

Donus
elected.

His Charac-
ter.

Dies.
Year of
Christ 975.

^a Concil. tom. ix. p. 711.

^b Hermannus Contract.

Year of *of Wickedness the most wicked.* Some however have allowed him
 Christ 975. a Place between *Benedict VI.* and *Donus II.* under the Name of *Boniface VII.*

JOHN TZIMISCES,
 Emperor of the East.

BENEDICT VII.

OTHO II.
 Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

Majolus
 Abbot of Clu-
 ny declines
 the Pontifical
 Dignity of-
 fered by the
 Emperor.

THE Emperor no sooner heard of the Death of *Donus*, than wishing to see one placed in the Chair capable of reforming the many Abuses that prevailed in the *Roman* Church, he wrote to *Majolus*, Abbot of *Cluny*, a Man held by all in great Esteem for the Sanctity of his Life, earnestly pressing him in his own Name, and in the Name of the Empress *Adalais*, his Mother, to accept of the Papal Dignity, and repair, without Delay, for that Purpose to *Rome*. But the holy Abbot obstinately refusing to accept what others were striving by the most wicked Means to attain, the Emperor, after tempting him again and again, but in vain, with the same Offer, dispatched his Envoys to *Rome*, to assist according to Custom at the Ordination of the new Pope. The Deputies were ordered to join the *Tuscan* Party; and by that Party was chosen and ordained in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys *Benedict VII.* a *Roman*, the Son of one *David*, and at the Time of his Election Bishop of *Sutri*.

Benedict
 VII. chosen.

Excommuni-
 cates Franco.

Benedict was no sooner ordained, than assembling a Council in the *Lateran* Church, he deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized with great Solemnity *Franco*, who had intruded himself into the Chair upon the Death of *Benedict VI.* inhumanly murdered at his Instigation ^b.

Holds a
 Council at
 Rome.

Year of
 Christ 981.

Dies.

Of this Pope we find nothing else recorded in History but that in 977 he restored the See of *Lorch* to its Metropolitan Dignity, and in 981 held a Council at *Rome* against simoniacal Ordinations, at which the Emperor was present in Person ^c. In *Benedict's* Time died at *Rome*, in the Month of *December* 983, the Emperor *Otho II.* and was buried in the Porch of the *Vatican* Church. The Pope survived him but a few Months; for his Death is said to have happened

^a Syrus in Vit. Majoli, l. iii. c. 8.
 tom. ix. p. 1244.

^b Concil. tom. ix. p. 721.

^c Concil.

John XIV. BISHOPS of Rome.

on the Tenth of *July* of the following Year 984, after enjoying the Pontifical Dignity Nine Years and some Months.

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Year of
Christ 984.

BASILIIUS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

JOHN XIV.

OTHO III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Benedict* was chosen a few Days after his Death John XIV. *John XIV.* Bishop of *Pavia*, and Arch-chancellor under the late Emperor *Otho II.* His Name was *Peter*, but he exchanged it, upon his Promotion, for that of *John*, out of Respect for the Prince of the Apostles. He held the See only Eight Months. For *Franco*, hearing that *Otho* was dead, left *Constantinople*, and returning to *Rome*, soon after the Election of *John*, was received with great Joy by those of his Party, and even encouraged to resume the Pontifical Dignity, and drive *John* from the See. This he readily undertook, and his Party prevailing, he seized on Pope *John*, confined him in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and there either starved him to Death, or dispatched him with Poison. He caused his Body to be exposed to public View, that his Friends might all know he was dead, and lay aside all Thoughts of attempting his Rescue, or reinstating him in his See. *Franco* enjoyed but a very short Time the usurped Dignity, being carried off by a sudden Death when he had not yet held it a whole Year. He behaved, after his Restoration, in so tyrannical a Manner to all indiscriminately, even to those of his own Party, that they stabbed his dead Body in an Hundred Places, dragged it stark naked through the Kennels to the Place where stood the Equestrian Statue of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (called in the *Vatican* Manuscript the Statue of *Constantine*) and there left it. But it was from thence conveyed away early the next Day by some of the Clergy, and privately buried ^a.

In the room of *Franco*, called in most Catalogues *Boniface VII.* *John* though by no Writer acknowledged for lawful Pope, was elected *John*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *Robert*. But when

^a Apud Baron. ad ann. 985.

Year of
Christ 985.

ther his Election was not canonical, or he died before his Consecration, he is not reckoned among the Popes, his immediate Successor, called likewise *John*, being counted the Fifteenth Pope of that Name. However as *John*, the Son of *Robert*, was elected, he is stiled, in the Chronicle of St. *Maxentius, Apostolicus*, that is Pope, and so is *Boniface VII.* For it is there said, that Three *Apostolici* died in One Year at *Rome*, in 985, namely, *John XIV. Boniface VII.* and *John* the Elect.

BASILIVS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

JOHN XV.

OTHO III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

John leaves
Rome soon
after his
Election.

TO *John*, the Son of *Robert*, was substituted *John XV.* by Birth a *Roman*, and the Son of a Presbyter named *Leo*. He was chosen, it seems, without Opposition, and ordained, as appears from some of his Letters, in *December 985*^a. In the Beginning of his Pontificate, *Crescentius*, a Man of great Power and Authority in *Rome*, aspiring, after the Example of the *Tuscan* Marquises, at the Sovereignty of the City, seized on the Castle of St. *Angelo*, which alarmed the Pope, acquainted with his violent and tyrannical Temper, to such a Degree, that leaving *Rome* he withdrew into *Tuscany*, and from thence wrote to *Otho*, entreating him to hasten to the Relief of the Holy See, and the unhappy City, threatened with Destruction by a new Tyrant. *Otho* answered the Pope, that as soon as his Affairs were settled in *Germany*, he would march with his whole Army to *Rome*, and exert the same Zeal in Defence of the Apostolic See as his Father and Grandfather had done. The Pope took Care to acquaint *Crescentius* with this Answer, who thereupon, remembering the late Executions, dispatched some of the chief Men of his Party to invite his Holiness back to *Rome*, and assure him, that he should be treated with all the Respect that was due to the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles. The Pope complied with the Invita-

Is recalled by
the Tyrant
Crescentius.

^a Baluz. in Append. Marcæ Hispan. p. 234.

tion,

John XV. BISHOPS of Rome.

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tion, and was thenceforth suffered to live quite unmolested by *Crescentius*, and those of his Party ^b. Year of Christ 986.

In the Year 990 a Quarrel arising between *Ethelred*, King of *England*, and *Richard*, Duke or Marquis of *Normandy*, the Pope sent over into *England* *Leo*, Chorepiscopus of *Treves*, with the Character of his Legate *a latere*, to mediate a Peace between them. On that Occasion *John* wrote a Letter addressed to all the Faithful, wherein he tells them that he had sent a Legate to the Sea coast at a great Distance with exhortatory Letters; that on Christmas day his Legate had an Audience of the King; that he persuaded him to hearken to Terms of Peace, and send over with him Embassadors to treat with the Duke; and that, on the First of *March* 991, a Peace was happily concluded at *Roan* between the King and the Duke ^c. Mediates a Peace between Ethelred King of England and Richard Duke of Normandy. Year of Christ 990.

In the Life of this Pope we meet with the First Instance of a solemn Canonization. For by him was solemnly canonized, or sainted, *Ulderic*, Bishop of *Augusta*, at the Request of *Liutulf*, his Successor in that See. On that Occasion the Pope assembled a Council in the *Lateran* Palace; and when the Bishops were all met, *Liutulf* rising up, begged Leave of the Assembly to read to them the Book, which he held in his Hand, containing, he said, an authentic Account of the Life and Miracles of the venerable *Ulderic*. They readily agreed to his Request; and when he had done, the Pope, after consulting the Bishops, declared with their Approbation, that *Ulderic* might thenceforth be worshipped and invoked as a Saint reigning in Heaven with Christ ^d. They did not, it seems, inquire into the Truth of any Thing contained in that Book, but supposed the Miracles, and whatever else it contained, to be true. The First Instance of a solemn Canonization. Year of Christ 993.

The only Thing that occurs worthy of Notice in the Pontificate of *John* XV. is the Quarrel that arose in 990, between him and the *Gallican* Bishops, on the following Occasion. *Adelbert*, Archbishop of *Reims*, dying, the famous *Hugh Capet*, whom the *French* had raised to the Throne in 987 (A), appointed *Arnold*, natural Brother Quarrel between the Pope and the Gallican Bishops.

^b Baron. ad ann. 985.

^c Malmes. de Reg. l. ii. c. 10. et Concil. tom. ix.

^d Mabill. in Pref. ad Sec. v. Benedict. p. 99.

(A) As *Lewis* V. left no Issue behind him, the *French* chose *Hugh Capet*, descended from *Childebrand*, Brother to *Charles Martel*, for his Successor. *Charles*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and Uncle to the deceased King, had an indisputable Right to the Crown;

but he was excluded on account of his Attachment to the *German* Party and the Emperor *Otho*. Thus was the Crown transferred from the *Carlovingian*, or the Second Race of the *French* Kings to the Third, who hold it to this Day.

Year of
Christ 993.

to *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, with whom *Hugh* was then at War, to succeed him, flattering himself, that he should thus gain him over to his Party. The Archbishop took the usual Oath of Allegiance to the King; but Six Months after he betrayed the City to the Duke his Brother, as was proved by the Testimony of the very Priest, who by his Order opened the Gate to the Duke. Of this Treachery the King and the Bishops of the Province of *Reims* complained to the Pope, informing his Holiness, at the same time, that they designed to assemble a Council in order to try the Archbishop. The Deputies, whom they sent to *Rome* on that Occasion, were at first well received by the Pope. But *Herbert*, Count of *Vermendois*, having in the mean time espoused the Cause of *Arnold*, to whom he was related, the Pope, gained by his Presents, would not afterwards so much as admit the Envoys of the King and the Bishops to his Presence. However upon their Return a Council was assembled at *Reims*, at which presided *Seguin*, Archbishop of *Sens*, and were present all the Bishops of the Province of *Reims*, and a great Number of Abbots from different Provinces. They met on the Seventeenth of *June* 991; and *Arnold* being in the First Session convicted of High Treason, and of a manifest Breach of his Oath, he was in the Second, at which assisted King *Hugh* and his Son *Robert*, solemnly deposed, and *Gerbert*, formerly Preceptor to Prince *Robert*, was, at the Desire of the King, appointed Archbishop of *Reims* in his room.

Council of
Reims a-
gainst Ar-
nold.

Arnold was not deposed by the Council, nor was his Successor named, till he owned himself guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, and acknowledging himself unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, delivered the Ring and his Crozier to the King, and publicly consented to the Election of another Bishop to that See. However some Abbots, undertaking his Defence, pretended, upon the Authority of forged Decretals, that his Renunciation was null, and that, notwithstanding his pleading guilty, no other could be placed on that See, till his Cause was re-examined at *Rome*, and his Resignation received

Speech of the
Bishop of Or-
leans.

by the Pope. But they were silenced by *Arnold*, Bishop of *Orleans*, who, on that Occasion, made a long Speech, shewing that all Honour was due to the See of *Rome*, as having been founded by St. *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles; that due Obedience ought to be paid to its Decrees, so long as they are consistent with the Decrees of *Nice* and of other General Councils; that if the Pope acted agreeably

agreeably to those Decrees, he would not disapprove nor reverse the Judgment given by a provincial Synod, or a national Council; ^{Year of Christ 993.} that if he disapproved or reversed it, greater Regard should be had to the antient Laws and Canons of the Church Universal, than to any new Decrees that the Popes might be prompted to issue by Motives of Interest, Pride, or Revenge. From thence he took Occasion to lament the deplorable Condition to which the *Roman* Church was reduced, being no longer governed by the *Leos*, the *Innocents*, the *Gregories*, &c. but by the most worthless Wretches of the whole human Race, by Monsters rather than Men, abandoned to all Manner of Wickedness, and void of all Knowledge both sacred and profane. "And are we, he added, to consult them" and acquiesce in their Judgment, when we have in *Belgium* and *Germany*, Provinces so near us, so many Bishops, no less eminent "for their Learning than for their Religion and exemplary Lives?" "At *Rome* every thing is venal; and he will always have Justice on "his Side, who has most Gold to give to his Judges." The Bishop of *Orleans* proves, in the remaining Part of his Speech, that the Bishops of each Province are empowered, by the Councils, to try, condemn, and depose, such of their Fellow Bishops as are arraigned and convicted of Crimes, for which they deserve to be deposed; that they are directed by no Canons or Laws of the Church to consult in such Cases the Pope, but are only required to acquaint him with the Judgment they have given, and, if he does not approve of it, to re-examine the Cause on the Spot.

The Pope was no sooner informed of the Deposition of *Arnold*, ^{The Pope} and the Ordination of *Gerbert*, than he declared the one and the ^{suspends the} other null, nay, and suspended all the Bishops, and among the rest ^{Bishops of the Council.} *Gerbert* himself, who had assisted at that Council. But *Gerbert*, little imagining then that he should ever be raised, as he afterwards was, to the Pontifical Dignity, not only made no Account of the Sentence pronounced by the Pope, continuing to perform all Episcopal Functions as if no such Sentence ever had passed, but persuaded the other Bishops to pay as little Regard to it as he did himself. As *Seguin*, Archbishop of *Sens*, who had presided at the Council, betrayed some Fear of the Papal Thunder, *Gerbert* wrote to him, that he had nothing to fear; that the Judgment of the Pope was not so much to be dreaded as the Judgment of God; that should the Pope sin against his Brother, and not obey the Church,

Gerbert's Letter on this Occasion.

Year of
Christ 993.

after repeated Admonitions, he ought to be looked upon, without any Regard to his Station, as a Heathen and Publican; that he can cut no Man off, much less his Fellow Bishops, from the Communion of the Church, for not approving what they believe to be contrary to the Gospel; that a Sentence manifestly unjust, ought not to be look'd upon, according to the great Pontiff St. *Leo*, as coming from the See of St. *Peter*; that Bishops and the other Pastors of the Church, are to regulate their Conduct by the Scriptures, by the Canons of the Church Universal, and by the Decrees of the Apostolic See, when agreeable to them; that they, who transgress those Laws, are to be tried by them, and by them alone absolved or condemned, but that such as observe them have nothing to fear, and may live, happen what will, quite undisturbed. He closed his Letter with exhorting *Seguin* to take the Laws of the Church, and not the Will of one Man misinformed or misled by Passion or Prejudice, for the Rule of his Conduct.

Another Letter of Gerbert on the same Occasion.

Gerbert wrote another Letter on the same Subject to *Vilderod* Bishop of *Strasburg*, wherein, after giving him an Account of the Proceedings of the Council against *Arnold*, he maintains the Justice of the Sentence pronounced by the Bishops who composed it, as entirely agreeable to the Decrees of the General Councils, and the Practice of the Church in all Ages; confutes what had been urged by some Abbots in the Council, *viz.* that a Bishop could be judged and deposed by none but the Pope, and shews, that as the Crimes, which *Arnold* was arraigned of, deserved the Punishment that the Council had inflicted upon him, and were fully proved, the Pope could not reverse the Judgment they had given, nor suspend them for giving it.

The King writes to the Pope;

At the same Time King *Hugh* wrote to the Pope, giving him a succinct Account of the Proceedings of the Council of *Reims*, begging him to confirm them, as no-ways derogatory to the Authority of the Apostolic See, and inviting him to meet the *Gallican* Bishops at *Grenoble*, on the Confines of *France* and *Italy*, where the Affair should be examined anew, in the Presence of his Holiness. In Answer to this Letter the Pope pretended that he could not leave *Rome*, as the Tyrant *Crescentius* would probably lay hold of that Opportunity to usurp the Sovereignty of the City. He therefore proposed the assembling of a Council either at *Rome* or at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. But that Proposal being rejected by the *Gallican* Bishops, the Pope dis-

John XV. BISHOPS of Rome.

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patched into *France* *Leo*, Abbot of *St. Boniface* in *Rome*, with the Character of his Legate, to assemble a Council at *Moufon* in the Diocese of *Reims*, ordering him to insist on the Expulsion of *Gerbert*, and Restoration of *Arnold*, as the one had been deposed, and the other ordained, without the Knowledge or the Consent of the Apostolic See.

Year of
Christ 994.
*who sends a
Legate into
France.*

The Council met accordingly at the Place appointed on the Second of *June* 995; and the Legate having presented to the Bishops a Letter from the Pope, declaring the Deposition of *Arnold* uncanonical, and representing *Gerbert* as an Usurper of his See, that Prelate shewed, in a Speech which he made, and afterwards delivered to the Legate in Writing, that *Arnold* had been judged and condemned according to the Canons; that being convicted of many enormous Crimes, he had owned himself unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity and resigned it; that as for himself, he had never courted that nor any other Dignity; that he had been named to it by the King, without any Application from him, and freely chosen by the Bishops of the Province; that he had long declined the offered Dignity, but was, in the End, forced to yield to the pressing Instances of the King, of the Bishops of the Province, and the People and Clergy of *Reims*; and consequently that he did not deserve to be treated as an Usurper of or Intruder into that See. He added, that as to the Pope, his Holiness had no just Cause to complain, since they had informed him of the whole Affair before they took any Step in it; but as he returned no Answer to their Deputies, after they had waited Eighteen Months for Directions, they thought it their Duty to proceed, according to the known Laws of the Church, against one, whose scandalous Conduct reflected Disgrace on the Episcopal Order.

*The Council
of Moufon.
Year of
Christ 995.*

*Gerbert's
Speech in the
Council.*

This Speech *Gerbert* delivered to the Legate in Writing, who promised to transmit it to his Holiness, but at the same time ordered him to forbear all ecclesiastical Functions till the Meeting of another Council; and he appointed another to meet on the First of *July* at *Reims*, there being present at this only Four Bishops, viz. the Archbishop of *Treves*, and the Bishops of *Liege*, of *Verdun*, and *Munster*. When the Legate commanded *Gerbert* to abstain from the Functions of his Office till the Meeting of the new Council, he told him in plain Terms, that he would not comply with that Injunction, no Bishop, no Patriarch, nor even the Pope

*Delivers it
to the Legate.*

Year of
Christ 995.

himself, being impowered by the Canons to suspend a Bishop, unless he was convicted of the Crime laid to his Charge, or confessed it, or refused to appear at a Synod, when canonically summoned; that he was not guilty, nor even arraigned, of any thing of that Nature, and would not therefore condemn himself. However, at the friendly Interposition of *Luitolf*, Archbishop of *Treves*, he consented to abstain from celebrating Mass till the Meeting of the Council ^e.

Gerbert de-
posed, and
Arnold re-
stored.

The Acts of that Council have not reached our Times. But from History it appears, that *Leo*, the Pope's Legate, having gained, as he was a Man of great Address, many of the *Gallican* Bishops over to his Party, *Gerbert* was deposed by that Assembly, and *Arnold* ordered to be reinstated in his See. But notwithstanding this Sentence, *Arnold* was kept by the King closely confined, as guilty of High Treason, till Three Years after, when, upon the Death of King *Hugh*, he was, at the Request of Pope *Gregory V.* the immediate Successor of the present Pope, released by King *Robert*, the Son of *Hugh*, and suffered to return to his See ^f. As for *Gerbert*, he readily submitted to the Sentence of the Council, however unjust, saying the Bishops are welcome to take from me what they have given me; which was tacitly declaring, that he yielded to the Bishops, and not to the Pope. He withdrew from *France* to the Court of *Otho III.* whose Preceptor he had been, and was by him first preferred to the See of *Ravenna*, and, upon the Death of *Gregory V.* to that of *Rome*, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Death of
John XV.
Year of
Christ 996.

The Council of *Reims* was held in 995, and Pope *John XV.* died the following Year, the Eleventh of his Pontificate. He is commended by the Writers of later Times for his Piety, his Learning, and even for his Skill in the military Art, though we do not find, that he ever had the least Opportunity of shewing or exerting that Skill, and it can be no great Commendation in a Bishop to be a good General. He is said to have writ several Books, but none of his Works have reached our Times. I shall leave *Baronius* to reconcile with this Pope's Sanctity, what was said by *Arnold* Bishop of *Orleans*, in the Council of *Reims*, viz. that in his Time every-thing was venal at *Rome*.

^e Concil. tom. ix. p. 743, 747.

^f Aimoin. in Vit. Sancti Abbon.

BASILIIUS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

GREGORY V. OTHO III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

AS Otho III. was encamped with his Army at *Ravenna* when Gregory V. the Pope died, the Clergy, the Senate, and the People of *Rome*, immediately dispatched Messengers to acquaint him with the Death of the Pope, to express their Desire of being honoured with his Presence in their City, and beg his Directions with Respect to the future Election. Among the Clergy of Otho's Chapel was his Nephew *Bruno*, then only Twenty-four Years of Age, but of a sweet Disposition, of an exemplary Life, well versed in most Branches of Learning, and by all no less esteemed for his eminent Virtues than his high Birth. This Youth Otho recommended to the Clergy and People of *Rome*, and he was, it seems, elected while he was still at *Ravenna*. For we are told by the Author of the Life of St. *Adalbert*, Bishop of *Prague*, who flourished at this very Time, that *Bruno* was elected, and attended to *Rome* by *Willigisus* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and another Bishop; that he was received there with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem, and consecrated Pope to the great Satisfaction of the People and Clergy^a. As to the Time of his Ordination, all we know for certain is, that he was ordained before the Twenty-eighth of *April* 996. This we learn from a Charter he granted to the Monastery of St. *Ambrose*, dated the Twenty-eighth of *April* 998, in the Second Year of his Pontificate^b. If he was on the Twenty-eighth of *April* 998 still in his Second Year, he must have begun his First before that Day. At his Ordination he chose to be called *Gregory*, and he is the Fifth of that Name.

Otho, who had been hitherto only stiled King of *Germany*, went soon after the Ordination of his Nephew to *Rome*, and was by him solemnly crowned Emperor on Whitsunday, which in 996 fell on the Thirty-first of *May*^c. *He crowns Otho Emperor.*

The same Year *Gregory* held a Council at *Rome*, consisting chiefly of *Italian* Bishops; and in this Council the Electoral College is said to be instituted by *Gregory*. *The Electoral College not instituted by Gregory.*

^a In Vit. Adalbert apud Mabill. See Benedikt. V. 555.
^c Chronograph. Hildensheim, ad hunc ann.

^b Concil. tom. ix. p.

Year of
Christ 996.

to have been instituted by the Pope and the Emperor, who was present at it in Person. But the Writers, who first ascribed that Institution to *Gregory V.* all lived Three hundred Years after his Time; and the more ancient and contemporary Historians are all to a Man silent about it. Besides, the Presbyter *Nippo*, in the Account he gives us of the Election of the Emperor *Conrad*, surnamed the *Salic*, that happened Twenty-six Years after the Death of *Gregory V.* tells us, as an Eye-witness, that *Conrad* was elected Emperor by the Archbishops, who voted the first, and by the Grandees of *Italy* as well as of *Germany*, the Emperor, whoever he was, being at that Time King of *Lombardy*. In the same Manner *Lotharius*, Duke of *Saxony*, was chosen Emperor in 1125 upon the Death of *Henry V.* who died without Issue, as we read in *Orderic*, who flourished about that Time^d. From these Testimonies of contemporary Writers, and many more might be produced, it is evident, that the Number of Electors was not, till long after this Pope's Time, confined to Seven.

Gregory
driven from
Rome.

Year of
Christ 997.

Upon the breaking up of this Council, with Respect to which we are left quite in the Dark, the Emperor, taking Leave of the Pope, returned with his Army to *Germany*, having first made the *Romans* swear Allegiance to him, and Obedience to the Pope. But he was no sooner gone, than the Tyrant *Crescentius*, having formed a strong Party under Colour of redeeming the City from the Bondage it groaned under, and restoring the *Romans* to the Liberty they enjoyed under their own Princes, drove *Gregory* from his See, plundered the *Lateran* Palace, and began, as Consul and Prince of the Republic, Titles his Followers bestowed on him, to act as Sovereign of *Rome*.

John XVI.
Antipope.

Gregory being fled, the Tyrant declared the See vacant, and raised to it one *Philagathes*, who took the Name of *John*. He was a Native of *Calabria*, of a very mean Extraction, but a Man of great Parts and Address. As *Calabria* was then subject to the *Greek* Empire, and he spoke that Language, he soon insinuated himself into the Favour of the *Greek* Empress *Theophania*, the Wife of *Otho II.* and was by her recommended to the Emperor, who employed him in several Affairs of great Moment, as did likewise his Son the present Emperor *Otho III.* Upon the Death of the Bishop of *Placentia* he seized on that See, and held it till, hearing that *Gregory* was

^d Orderic Vitalis, l. ii. p. 882.

Gregory V. BISHOPS of Rome.

driven from *Rome*, he purchased that See with the Plunder of the Church of *Placentia* ^c.

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Year of
Christ 997.

From *Rome* Gregory withdrew to *Pavia*, and in a Council held there excommunicated *Crescentius*, as well as the Usurper of his See, and with them all their Accomplices. The Sentence pronounced

Excommuni-
cated by Gre-
gory.

by the Pope against *John* was confirmed by all the Bishops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, in the Councils they assembled for that Purpose. In the mean time the Emperor, hearing of the Revolt of the

Romans, of the Expulsion of the Pope, and Tyranny exercised in *Rome* by *Crescentius*, set out at the Head of a small, but chosen Bo-

Gregory re-
stored.

Year of
Christ 998.

dy of Troops, for *Italy*, and finding the Pope at *Pavia*, pursued his March with him to *Rome*. *John* betook himself to Flight at their Approach; but falling into the Hands of some of the Pope's

Friends, they deprived him of his Sight, cut off his Nose, and tore out his Tongue. This they are by some said to have done without the Emperor's Knowledge, apprehending that he might forgive him,

as he had been formerly one of his chief Favourites^f. But others write, that this Punishment was inflicted upon him by the Com-

mand of the Emperor^g. As for *Crescentius*, he retired into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, not having a sufficient Number of Men to de-

fend the Walls of the City. But the Emperor ordered a general Assault, and having taken the Place by Storm, though till that Time thought impregnable, he ordered the Tyrant's Head to be cut off, and his Body to be hung upon a Gibbet before one of the Gates of the

Crescentius
and his Ac-
complices pu-
nished.

City, with the Bodies of Twelve of his Accomplices^h. The famous Abbot *St. Nilus* is said by the Author of his Life to have exerted his

utmost Endeavours in Favour of *John*, begging both of the Pope and the Emperor that his Life might be spared, and he sent back to his

Monastery (for he was originally a Monk) to do Penance there for his Sins. That Writer adds, that, notwithstanding the Interposition,

the Prayers and Entreaties of so holy a Man, the Pope ordered the unhappy Wretch, blind and deformed as he was, to be led through the Streets of *Rome* in a tattered Sacerdotal Habit, mounted upon

an Ass with his Face to the Tail, which he held in his Hand. But of this no Notice is taken by the more ancient Writers; and besides, *Gregory* is commended by the contemporary Writers for the Sweetness of his Temper, and is even said to have diverted the Emperor,

^c Chron. Magdeburg. ad ann. 997.
Biograph. Hildenheim. ad ann. 998.

^f Ibid. ad ann. 998.
^h Idem ibid.

^g Chro-
when

Year of
Christ 998.

when he first came to *Rome*, from banishing *Crescentius* for the Disturbances which he had raised, under the other Popes, in that City. The Executions spoken of above struck such Terror into the People, that they thenceforth carefully avoided giving *Gregory* the least Cause of Complaint.

Council of
Rome.

The Pope being thus restored to his See, and having nothing to fear from the *Romans*, convened a Council in *Rome*, at which assisted Twenty-eight Bishops and the Emperor in Person, with a great Number of Presbyters, Abbots, and Deacons. This Council was chiefly assembled on the following Occasion. *Robert*, King of *France*, had married *Berta*, the Widow of *Odo*, Count of *Champagne*, and Daughter of *Conrad*, King of *Burgundy*. But as *Robert* had been Godfather to One of her Children, and Godfathers were forbidden by the Council of *Trullo*, not only to marry the Infant, but the Mother of the Infant, for whom they had answered ⁱ, the Pope assembled a Council to declare the King's Marriage incestuous and null. And such it was accordingly declared by the Pope and all the Bishops who were present, and the King was ordered, in the

King Robert
excommunicated and his
Queen.

First Canon, to dismiss *Berta*, whom he had married contrary to the Laws of the Church, and to atone by a Seven Years Penance for that Transgression, on Pain of being cut off from the Communion of the Faithful. The same Sentence was pronounced against *Berta*, if she did not separate from the King. By the Second Canon, all the Bishops, who had assisted at that Marriage, and *Erchembaldus* in particular, Archbishop of *Tours*, who had given the nuptial Benediction, were suspended from their Episcopal Functions and the Communion, till they went to *Rome*, and, acknowledging their Fault, obtained Forgiveness of the Apostolic See. No Regard was at first paid, either by the King or by *Berta*, to the Sentence of the Pope and his Council: but it made so deep an Impression upon the Minds of his Subjects, that he was forsaken, if *Petrus Damianus* is to be credited, by all his Domestics except Two, who supplied him with the Necessaries of Life, and neither would they have any other Intercourse with him, nor would they so much as touch the Vessels he had used, till they had purified them in the Fire ^k(A). Be that as it

ⁱ Justin. Cod. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 16.

^k Petrus Damian. ep. 5.

(A) But this is probably of a Piece with what we read in the same Author, *viz.* that *Berta* was delivered of a Monster, having the Neck and the Head of a Goose.

will,

Gregory V. BISHOPS of Rome.

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will, the King lived Three Years longer with *Berta*, and then, dismissing her, married *Constantia*, surnamed *Candida*, the Daughter of *William* Count of *Provence*. He is said to have been persuaded by *Abbo*, Abbot of *Fleury*, to part with *Berta* and marry another in her room. *Ivo* of *Chartres* writes, that the Bishops went all to *Rome* with the King and with *Berta* to be absolved by the Pope¹. But the Writer of *Abbo's* Life, taking no Notice of the King's Journey to *Rome*, only says, that he confessed his Fault, that he publicly begged Pardon for the Scandal that he had given, and performed the Penance, that was enjoined him.

Year of
Christ 998.

Gislerius, Bishop of *Mersburg*, held at this Time the Archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, and being therefore charged with holding Two Parishes, that is Two Bishoprics, it was ordained by the Third Canon of the present Council, that the Church of *Mersburg* erected, by the Apostolic See, and the Emperor *Otho* I. into an Episcopal See, but divested of that Dignity by *Otho* II. should be restored to its former Rank: and by the Fourth Canon it was decreed, that if *Gislerius* could make it appear, that his translating himself from the See of *Mersburg* to that of *Magdeburg* was not owing to Ambition, but that he had been invited by the People, he should be continued in that See; but if he could not make that appear he should return to *Mersburg*. It was added in that Canon, that if it could be proved, that he had been induced by Motives of Ambition or Avarice to exchange the one Church for the other, he should keep neither. The Fifth Canon related to the Church of *Puy* in *Velay*. *Guy*, Bishop of that City, had, on his Death-bed, appointed *Stephen* his Nephew to succeed him, without consulting either the Clergy or People. *Stephen* was accordingly ordained by the Archbishop of *Bourges*, and the Bishop of *Nevers*. But this Ordination was declared null by the Council, *Stephen* was deposed, and Two Bishops, who had ordained him, were suspended, till they satisfied the Holy See. By the same Canon the Clergy and People of *Velay* were empowered to chuse their Bishop, who was to be ordained by the Pope, and King *Robert* was exhorted not to support *Stephen*, but, on the contrary, to favour the Election of the Clergy and People. This Judgment was complied with in *France*, and in the room of

Other Ca-
nons of this
Council.

¹ *Ivo*, Part. ix. c. 8.

Year of
Christ 998.

Gregory
dies.

Year of
Christ 999.

Stephen, Theodard was elected by the Clergy and People, and ordained by *Silvester II.* the Successor of *Gregory*^m.

Gregory did not long survive the holding of this Council, for he died, as appears from his Epitaph, which is still to be seen in the Church of *St. Peter*, on the Eighteenth of *February* 999. In the same Epitaph he is commended for his high Birth, for his Knowledge of Three Languages, the *French*, or the *Teutonic*, the *Latin*, and the Language, or barbarous *Latin*, that was then spoken in *Italy*, and for his Generosity to the Poor.

BASILIVS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

SILVESTER II.

OTHO III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and thirty-ninth BISHOP of Rome.

Silvester II.
chosen.

GREGORY was succeeded by *Gerbert* unanimously chosen by the Clergy and People of *Rome* upon the Recommendation of the Emperor, who had preferred him the Year before to the Archbishopal See of *Ravenna*. He was a Native of *Auvergne*, come of an obscure Family, but endowed with most extraordinary Parts, and had shown from his tender Years great Thirst after Knowledge. He was highly esteemed by the Emperor *Otho II.* who chose him for Preceptor to his Son *Otho III.* and gave him the Abbey of *Bobio* in *Italy*. Upon the Death of the Emperor he returned to *France*, and settled at *Reims* with Archbishop *Adalberon*. He pretended to have been named by that Prelate, on his Death-bed, for his Successor in that See. But the King, *Hugh Capet*, nevertheless preferred to it *Arnold*, the natural Son of *Lotharius* King of *France*, and Brother to *Charles*, Duke of *Lorraine*. When *Arnold* was convicted of having betrayed that City to the Duke, and thereupon deposed by the Council of *Reims*, he was, with the Approbation of the King, chosen by the People of *Reims* and the Bishops of that Province to succeed him. But being afterwards deposed in his Turn by *Leo*, the Legate of *John XV.* the Emperor *Otho III.* got him first chosen Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and afterwards raised to the Apostolic See.

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He was ordained in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys, on Palm-Sunday, which in 999 fell on the Second of *April*; and on that Occasion he took the Name of *Silvester II.* Year of Christ 999.

He was no sooner ordained, than, forgetting the Quarrel between *His Genero-* him and *Arnold*, Archbishop of *Reims*, he confirmed that Prelate *sity to Arnold* in his See, empowered him to perform all the Functions of his Of- *of Reims.* fice, to wear the Pall, to consecrate the Kings, to ordain his Suffragans, and exercise the same Jurisdiction over them, as had ever been exercised by any of his Predecessors. As he could not justify him without condemning himself, he told him in the Letter, which he wrote to him on that Occasion, that though his Conscience condemned him, he absolved him by the Authority, with which he was vested as the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles^a.

The Pope is said to have sent the following Year to St. *Stephen I.* St. Stephen King of Hungary King of *Hungary*, the famous Crown, with which his Successors *Hungary* are crowned to this Day, and to have bestowed upon him, at the same Time, the Title of King, and appointed him his perpetual Legate, perpetual Legate. with full Power to dispose of all Ecclesiastical Preferments at his Plea- Year of Christ 1000. sure, and to have, as Legate of the Apostolic See, the Cross carried before him, as a Reward justly due to his Apostolic Labours in converting his Subjects to the Christian Faith. *I am called the Apostolic,* said the Pope to the King's Ambassadors demanding a Royal Crown for their Master, *but he may well be called the Apostle of Christ, who has gained to him so numerous a People; and we therefore leave the Churches to be disposed of by him, as our Vicar*^b.

In the Year 1001 the Pope sent *Frederic*, Cardinal of the *Roman* The Bishop of Hildesheim Church into *Germany*, to determine a Difference between *Bernou-* complaints to the Pope of his Metropolitan. ard, Bishop of *Hildesheim*, and his Metropolitan *Willegisus*, Arch- Year of Christ 1001. bishop of *Mentz*. The Archbishop had given the Veil to a Nun in a Monastery under the immediate Jurisdiction of the See of *Hilde-* *sheim*, and besides consecrated the Church of the said Monastery without the Permission of the Bishop. *Bernouard*, provoked at the arbitrary Proceedings of his Metropolitan, and determined to maintain the just Rights of his See, went in Person to *Rome* to complain to the Pope. *Silvester*, who had been formerly acquainted with him, received him with the greatest Marks of Esteem, the rather, as he was warmly recommended to him by the Emperor, but he

^a Concil. l. ix. p. 778.

^b Apud Surium. in Vit. S. Steph. ad Diem 20 Aug.

Year of
Christ 1001.

Council in
Germany
disapproves
the Conduct
of the Me-
tropolitan.

Silvester *dies.*
Year of
Christ 1003.

Charged
with the Sin
of Magic.

would give no Sentence till he had heard both Sides, and the Affair was inquired into on the Spot. He therefore sent the above-mentioned Cardinal into *Germany* with Orders to assemble a Council, to hearken to the Advice of the Bishops, who composed it, and to determine the Dispute together with them. The Council met by the Appointment of the Legate at *Polden* on the Twenty-second of *July*. But the Archbishop, finding his Conduct was censured by almost all the Bishops who were present, privately withdrew; and he was thereupon, with the Approbation of the Council, suspended by the Legate from all Episcopal Functions, till he gave the Bishop of *Hildesheim* such Satisfaction as his Fellow-Bishops should judge proper; and he was strictly enjoined to abstain for the future from any ways encroaching on the Jurisdiction and Rights of his Suffragans as established by the known Laws of the Church. The Acts of this Council were brought to *Rome* by the Cardinal Legate, and confirmed by the Pope in a Council held in the *Lateran* Palace, at which were present Thirty Bishops, and the Emperor in Person.

Of this Pope, though highly commended by most of the Writers who lived the nearest to this Time, for the Sanctity of his Life as well as the Prudence, with which he administered his short Pontificate, we find nothing else recorded besides his giving the Pall at *Rome* to St. *Herebert*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, and his confirming to *Leothoric*, Archbishop of *Sens*, the Primacy of all *Gaul*, formerly granted by *John VIII.* to *Ansegisus*, his Predecessor in that See. *Silvester* died on the Twelfth of *May* 1003, having governed the Church Four Years One Month and Nine Days. The Day of his Death is marked on his Epitaph, which was composed by Pope *Sergius IV.* who succeeded him in 1009, and is still to be seen in the *Lateran* Church.

Cardinal *Benno*, who lived in the Time of *Gregory VII.* writes, that *Silvester* was a famous Magician, that he learnt the black Art in a Book, which he stole at *Seville*; that he did Homage to the Devil; that he sold his Soul to him for the Popedom; that he had a brazen Head in his Closet, which answered all the Questions he asked, and that having consulted the Devil about the Length of his Life, he was assured he should not die till he had said Mass in *Jerusalem*; that he thereupon promised himself a very long Life, but happening in the Fifth Year of his Pontificate to say Mass in the Church called *The Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, he was taken suddenly ill, and con-

cluding

Silvester II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Year of
Christ 1003.

cluding from a strange Noise of Devils that his End was at hand, he made a full Confession of his Sins to the Cardinals, and desired, that his Body might be put into a Chariot drawn by Two Horses, and buried where they should stop; that his Request being complied with, the Horses stopt at the *Lateran* Church, and that he was buried there by the Cardinals. To these Tales other Writers have added, that for a long Time after his Bones were heard to rattle, and his Sepulchre used to sweat great Drops, when a Pope was to die. These Fables, however absurd and ridiculous, have been adopted by *Sigebert*, who indeed speaks doubtfully of them, and likewise by *Martinus Polonus*, *Vincent of Beauvais*, *Galfrid*, *Malmsbury*, and several others, who flourished many Years after his Time. But he is highly commended for his Piety and eminent Virtues by all the contemporary Writers, who speak of him, namely by his Successor *Sergius IV.* in his Epitaph, by *Ditmar*, Bishop of *Mersburg*, by *Helgald*, Monk of *Fleury*, and by several others, who lived in his Time, or very soon after it. His Rise from the lowest Station in Life to the highest Dignity in the Church, the high Favour he was in with the Emperor and other Princes and Kings of his Time, and his extraordinary Knowledge in every Branch of Literature, especially in Mathematics and Astronomy, probably made him be looked upon in so ignorant an Age as a Magician; and what was said by the ignorant Multitude was gravely related by Cardinal *Benno* as Matter of Fact, the Cardinal being a most violent Partizan of the Emperor *Henry*, with whom *Gregory VII.* was then at War.

Silvester travelled very early into *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, in ^{His Writings.} Quest of Knowledge, spent large Sums, as soon he had it in his Power, in the Purchase of Books, and spared no Expence to get those transcribed, which he could not purchase. He wrote himself several learned Treatises of Rhetoric, Arithmetic, and Geometry. He made a Set of Globes, and a Clock while he was with the Emperor at *Magdeburg*, and afterwards an Astrolabe, of which he wrote a Treatise by Way of Dialogue between him and *Leo*, the Pope's Legate. Upon his being preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of *Ravenna* he wrote a very learned Charge to his Suffragans, which has been published by *Mabillon* under the following Title, *A Sermon or Speech of the Philosopher Gerbert, Pope of the City of Rome*,

* Ditmar. l. vi.

* Helgald, in Vit. Robert. Regis.

surnamed

Year of
Christ 1003.

surnamed Silvester, for the Instruction of Bishops^e. In that Piece he highly complains of the Simony that prevailed in his Time. To *Silvester* is ascribed by *Baronius* and others the Life of St. *Adalbert*, Bishop of *Prague* and Martyr. But the learned *Mabillon* has plainly proved it to be the Work of an anonymous Monk^f. This Pope wrote a great Number of Letters upon different Subjects, whereof One hundred and Sixty were printed at *Paris* in 1611. But the compleatest Collection of these Letters is to be met with in *Duchesne* g; and they afford us great Light with Respect to the Affairs of those Times both Ecclesiastic and Civil. His Thirty-eighth Letter contains the First Exhortation to the *Croisade*. For he there introduces the City of *Jerusalem* addressing and exhorting the Church Universal to rescue the holy Places, where our Lord was born, where he lived and suffered, out of the Hands of the Infidels. He was frequently consulted, before his Promotion to the Apostolic See, by the Emperor *Otho* III. and we have One of that Prince's Letters to him with the following Direction, *To Gerbert a most learned Philosopher, and eminent in the Three Branches of Philosophy*. The Verse he wrote on his Promotion from *Reims* to *Ravenna*, and from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, does him no great Honour (A).

BASILIIUS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

JOHN XVII.

HENRY II.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and fortieth BISHOP of Rome.

John XVII.
chosen.

IN the room of *Silvester* was chosen, after a Vacancy of Thirty-three Days, *John* XVII. *surnamed Sicco*, a Native of *Rome*, of a mean Descent according to some, of a very illustrious and ancient Family according to others. As the Emperor *Otho* III. died the Year before, and *Henry* of *Bavaria* was not yet crowned Emperor, the Clergy and People were left to chuse whom they pleased, and to their Disagreement was, probably, owing the Length of the Va-

(A) Scandit ab R, *Gerbertus* in R, post Papa viget R.

^e Mabill. Analect. tom. 2.
chef. Scriptor. ver, Franc.

^f Mabill. Sec. Benedict. V.

^g Du-
cancy.

John XVIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

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cancy. We know nothing at all of the Character or Actions of this Pope. Indeed his Pontificate was so short, that he scarce had Time to perform any Thing worthy of Notice. For he was ordained on the Thirteenth of *June* 1003, and died on the Seventh of *December* of the same Year, having held the See Five Months and Twenty five Days. He was buried, as *Joannes Diaconus the Younger* informs us, in the *Lateran* Church, and his Tomb was still to be seen there in his Time ^b.

Year of
Christ 1003.

BASILIIUS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

JOHN XVIII.

HENRY II.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and forty-first BISHOP of Rome.

JOHN XVII. was succeeded by *John XVIII.* by Birth a *Roman*, and called, before his Election, *Fasanus*. He was ordained on the Twenty-sixth of *December*, which in the Year 1003 fell on a Sunday.

The First Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his sending a Legate into *Germany* to assist at the Consecration of *Tagmo*, who had been elected Archbishop of *Magdeburg* in the room of *Gisilerus* deceased. That See was founded by *Otho I.* and by a particular Privilege granted at his Request, the new Archbishop was to be ordained by none but the Pope. As *Tagmo* therefore was not, at the Time of his Election, in a Condition to undertake a Journey to *Rome*, nor did the Pope think it adviseable to leave the City in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, he appointed a Legate to assist at the Ordination in his Name; and the Ceremony was performed by *Willegisus*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the other Bishops of the Province, in the Presence of the Legate, and of *Henry*, Duke of *Bavaria*, who had succeeded *Otho III.* in the Kingdom of *Germany* ^a.

In this Pope's Time the City of *Bamberg* was, with his Approbation, erected by King *Henry* into a Bishopric, and taken by the Pope into the particular Protection of the Apostolic See, but at the

Bamberg
made an
Episcopal
See.

^b Joan. Diac. de Eccles. Lateran.

^a Ditmar. l. v.

Year of same Time subjected to the Metropolitan See of *Mentz*, as appears
 Christ 1006. from the Pope's Letters to the Bishops of *Gaul* and *Germany* ^b.

He re-unites
 the Churches
 of Constantinople and
 Rome.

Of *John* XVIII. we read nothing else besides his sending *St. Bruno* to preach the Gospel to the *Russians*, his granting some Privileges to Monasteries, and receiving at *Rome*, with uncommon Marks of Distinction, *Elpheg*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, gone thither, in 1006, for the Pallé. It is said in his Epitaph, that he re-united the Eastern and Western Churches, and happily put an End, we know not by what Means, to the Schism that subsisted between them. What is said there is confirmed by *Peter*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, who tells *Michael Cærularius* in a Letter, which he wrote to him in 1050, that being Forty Years before at *Constantinople* in the Pontificate of Pope *Sergius*, he found that the Name of Pope *John*, the Predecessor of *Sergius*, was commemorated at Mass with the Names of the other Patriarchs, but was omitted, he knew not why, at the Time he wrote that Letter ^d. We shall see in the Sequel what this Rupture was owing to.

He dies.

Year of
 Christ 1009.

The Pope died, according to the most probable Opinion, about the End of *May* 1009, having presided in the Church Five Years and Five Months.

BASILIIUS,
 CONSTANTINE,
 Emperors of the East.

SERGIUS IV.

HENRY II.
 King of Germany.

The Hundred and forty-second BISHOP of Rome.

Sergius
 chosen.

TO *John* XVIII. was substituted *Sergius* IV. a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Martin*, and at the Time of his Election Bishop of *Albano*. His Name was *Peter*, but he is said to have changed it, out of Respect for the Founder of his See, and to have taken that of *Sergius*. As to the Time of his Election we only know, that it happened after the Seventeenth of *June* 1009, a Charter dated that Day in 1012 being said to have been granted in the Third Year of his Pontificate ^a; so that on the Seventeenth of *June* 1012 he had

^b Concil. tom. ix. p. 785.
 tom. ii. Die 19 April.
 Italia sacra, tom. vii. p. 528.

^c Osbern. in Vit. Sancti Elphegi, apud Surium,
^d Apud Baron. ad ann. 1009. ^a Ughell. Ita-

Benedict VIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

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not entered into his Fourth Year, and he must therefore have been chosen after that Day in 1009. Year of Christ 1009.

We find nothing recorded of this Pope besides his sending a Legate into *France* to consecrate a Monastery founded in the Diocese of *Tours*, which *Hugh*, Archbishop of that City, looked upon as an Encroachment upon his Jurisdiction; and his determining a Dispute between the Archbishop of *Hamburg* and the Bishop of *Verden* about a Parish named *Ramsola*, which the Pope adjudged to the Archbishop ^b. Sends a Legate to consecrate a Monastery in *Tours*.

Sergius died in 1012 either in the latter End of the Third, or in the Beginning of the Fourth Year of his Pontificate. For his Successor was possessed of the See on the Twenty-third of *November* of that Year, as appears from one of his Diplomas ^c. From his Epitaph it appears, that he had governed the Church of *Albano* Five Years before he was translated to that of *Rome*; that he was of a mild Disposition, kind to his Friends, generous to the Poor, and dear to all. He has been thought worthy of a Place in the *Benedictine* Monology, though he is not honoured by the Church as a Saint. This Pope was called *Os Porci*, or *Hog's Snout*, as we read in *Ditmar* a contemporary Writer, and not *Sergius II.* as is said by *Platina*, who will have that Pope to have been the First, who, disliking his own Name, took another. But that Custom did not take Place, as has been shown, till long after the Time of *Sergius II.* raised to the See in 844. His Death and Character. Year of Christ 1012.

BASILIIUS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

BENEDICT VIII. HENRY II.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and forty-third BISHOP of Rome.

UPON the Death of *Sergius, John*, Bishop of *Porto*, the Son of *Gregory*, Count of *Tusculum*, was raised by his Family to the Chair, after the Seventeenth of *June* 1012, when *Sergius* was still living, as we have seen, and before the Twenty-third of *November* of the same Year, when *John*, under the Name of *Benedict VIII.* Benedict chosen, driven from the See, and restored.

^b Adam. Bremen. l. iii. c. 13. et lib. ii. c. 38. ^c Apud Baron. ad ann. 1012.

Year of
Christ 1012.

was in Possession of the See. But he was soon driven from it by one *Gregory*, and obliged to fly into *Saxony*, and implore the Protection of *Henry* King of *Germany*. That Prince received him with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, promised to re-instate him in his See, and having settled the Affairs of his Kingdom, he set out with that View for *Italy* in *September* 1013, kept his Christmas at *Pavia*, and from thence pursued his March, at the Head of a numerous Army, to *Rome*. But the *Romans*, in the mean time, hearing that the King had espoused the Cause of *Benedict*, recalled him, and drove *Gregory* from the Chair and the City. The King however continued his March, and arriving at *Rome* in *February* 1014, was met by the Pope at some Distance from the City, and received at the Gate by the Clergy, the Magistrates, and the Nobility, and attended by them to the Church of *St. Peter*.

Crowns
Henry II.
Emperor.
Year of
Christ 1014.

The Pope, to engage the King in his Defence, had, no Doubt, promised to crown him Emperor; and this Ceremony he performed a few Days after his Arrival with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity, crowning him Emperor, and at the same Time his Queen *Cunegunda* Empress. The Pope before he placed the Crown on his Head, asked him whether he would be the Protector and Defender of the Church, whether he would be faithful to him and his Successors, and upon his answering, that he would ever protect and defend the Church to the utmost of his Power, and pay all due Obedience to his Holiness and his Successors in the Apostolic See, the Pope set the Crown on his Head and saluted him Emperor, amidst the loud Acclamations of the Multitude. On this Occasion the Pope presented the Emperor with a Crown of Gold in the Shape of a Globe, enriched with precious Stones of an immense Value, with a Cross of Gold at the Top, to denote, says *Glaber*, a contemporary Writer, that he ought to reign so as to deserve the Protection of the Cross. That Crown the Emperor sent to the Monastery of *Cluny* in high Reputation, even in that degenerate Age, for the strict Observance of the Monastic Rules, and the eminent Sanctity of many of those Monks. When the Ceremony of the Coronation was over, the Pope gave a grand Entertainment to the Emperor and the Empress in the *Lateran* Palace^a. This Ceremony was performed on the Fourteenth of *February*, in

^a Chron. Hildesheim. ad ann. 1014. Glaber, in fine libri 2. Ditmar, in init. l. 7.

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the Year 1014, which was the Thirteenth of *Henry's* Reign as King of *Germany* ^{b.} Year of Christ 1012.

The Emperor confirmed, before he left *Rome*, all the Donations of his Predecessors in Favour of the Apostolic See; *We confirm*, said he in his Diploma, *all the Donations made to the blessed Apostle Peter, by Pepin, by Charles, and by the Otho's.* However by the same Diploma he confirmed the Decrees of *Eugene II.* and *Leo IV.* ordering the new Pope to be ordained or consecrated in the Presence of the Imperial Commissaries; and this Edict or Diploma was still complied with in the Election of *Alexander II.* raised to the Chair in 1061, as appears from *Petrus Damianus*, who wrote in that Pontificate.

Henry confirms all the Donations of the preceding Emperors.

The Emperor, who was a most religious Prince, and is now even honoured as a Saint, is said to have asked the *Roman* Clergy, during his Stay at *Rome*, why they did not sing at Mass the Symbol or Creed after the Gospel, agreeably to the Custom that obtained in all other Churches. That Question the *Romans* answered, saying, the *Roman* Church had never been infected with Heresy, but had always held the Doctrine delivered to her by the Apostle *St. Peter*; and therefore left those Churches to sing the Creed, that had held Tenets contrary to the Doctrines which it contained. This Answer, reflecting on all other Churches, did not satisfy the Emperor, who therefore insisted on the Creed being sung at *Rome* as it was everywhere else; and he prevailed in the End.

Causes the Symbol to be sung at Mass in Rome.

In the Year 1016 the *Saracens* made a Descent upon the Coast of *Italy*, and having made themselves Masters of the City of *Luna* in *Tuscany*, they settled there with their Families, and made frequent Incursions into the neighbouring Countries. Their Neighbourhood alarmed the Pope, and therefore assembling all the Bishops and Defenders of the Church, he ordered them to join him with all the Men they could raise, in order to march jointly with him against the common Enemy. Having thus assembled a competent Army, and at the same Time prepared a great Number of armed Vessels to prevent their escaping by Sea, his Holiness set out from *Rome* at the Head of his Army. At his Approach the King of the *Saracens* had the good Luck to get off unobserved in a small Vessel; but his People, reduced to Despair, held out Three whole Days, and with great Slaughter re-

The Pope drives the Saracens out of Italy.
Year of Christ 1016.

^b Dittmar, in init. l. vii.

^c Berno. Augien. de Missa, c. 2.

Year of
Christ 1016

pulled the Aggressors in their repeated Attacks. But being in the End quite tired out, they abandoned the Place, hoping to find Shelter in the neighbouring Woods. But his Holiness pursued them so close, that not one out of so numerous a Multitude escaped the Edge of the Sword. We are told the Number of the Slain was so great, that the Victors could not count the dead Bodies, and that the Booty was immense. The Queen of the *Saracens* was taken, and without any Regard to her Sex, put to Death. The Ornament of Gold, enriched with precious Stones, which she wore on her Head was claimed by the Pope, who sent to the Emperor his Share of the rest of the Booty. The King of the *Saracens*, highly provoked at the Loss of his Queen, and so many of his Subjects, sent him a Sack full of Chestnuts, with this Message, that he would return next Summer with as many Men. In Answer to this Message the Pope sent him a Bag filled with Millet, and bid the Messenger let the King know, that if he was not satisfied with the Mischief which he had already done to the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, he might return, but should find as many armed Men to receive him^d.

Some Jews
executed at
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1017.

The following Year there happened in *Rome* a most violent Storm of Wind, by which, as it began on Good Friday after the Adoration of the Cross, and lasted, without Intermission, till Saturday Evening, many Houses were blown down, and great Numbers of People buried in the Ruins. But they found at last what had occasioned that Storm. For a *Jew* of the *Greek* Synagogue informed the Pope, that his Brethren had treated the Image of Christ with Scorn and Derision at the very Time the Christians were worshipping it. Upon this Intelligence the Pope caused the *Jews*, belonging to that Synagogue, to be strictly examined; and having found what the Informer told him to be true, he ordered all, who were any-ways concerned in that sacrilegious Insult, to be immediately executed, and the Storm ceased^e. Many such Stories were related, and even believed by some of the best Writers of those dark Ages.

The Bishopric
of Bamberg
given to the
Pope.

Year of
Christ 1019.

In the Year 1019 the Pope, leaving *Rome*, where a perfect Tranquillity reigned, went into *Germany*, and kept his Easter at *Bamberg* with the Emperor, who had invited him thither to consecrate a Church in that City erected by him into a Bishopric. That Ceremony the Pope performed with great Solemnity, and the Emperor intailed that Bishopric upon him and his Successors for ever, with an

^d Ditmar, l. vii.

^e *Fragm. Historiæ Aquitan. ad ann. 1017.*

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annual Tribute of a white Horse, and an Hundred Marks of Silver^f. This Bishopric *Leo IX.* afterwards exchanged for that of *Beneventum*, only reserving the Tribute of a white Horse, as we shall see in the Sequel. Year of
Christ 1019.

By this Pope Two Councils only are said to have been held, during the Eleven Years of his Pontificate, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Pavia*. All we know of the former is his granting a Charter to a Monastery in *Italy*, containing several Privileges^g. The Acts of the latter have reached our Times; and they consist of a Speech pronounced by the Pope, wherein he loudly complains of the Incontinence of the Clergy, and of Seven Canons, whereof the Two First enforce the Observance of the Canons forbidding Clerks to keep Concubines, or to have Women in their Houses. By the Two next, the Children of Clerks are declared to be Slaves of the Church, which their Fathers belonged to, though born of a free Woman; and it was enacted by the Three last, that no Vassal of the Church, whether Clerk or Layman, should make any Purchase in his own Name, or in the Name of a Freeman. The Decrees of this Council were signed by the Pope, by the Archbishop of *Milan*, and Five Bishops, and confirmed by the Emperor, who, at the Request of the Pope, inserted them in an Imperial Edict, and by that Means they became a standing Law in all his Dominions^h. This Council was held on the First of *August*, but in the Acts no Mention is made of the Year. However, as it is said to have assembled in the Reign of the glorious Emperor *Henry*, it is manifest, that it did not assemble till after the Year 1013, since *Henry* was not crowned Emperor till the Fourteenth of *February* 1014. Two Councils
held by the
Pope.

Benedict VIII. died, as we read in the Authors, whose Calculations seem to be the most exact, after a Pontificate of Eleven Years, Eleven Months, and Twenty-one Days. He is commended by the contemporary Writers for his Charity and Generosity to the Poor, and his Zeal in striving to reform the scandalous and dissolute Manners of the Clergy. He was a great Friend to the Monks, held in great Esteem and received at *Rome* with uncommon Marks of Distinction *St. Odilo* Abbot of *Cluny*, and *St. Romuald* Founder of the Order of *Camaldulense*, and is said to have enriched the Monastery Benedict
dies.
Year of
Christ 1024.

^f Chron. Hilden. ad ann. 1019. Wippo, in Vit. Cnorad. Salic. Leo Ostiens. l. i. c. 47. ^g Ughell Ital. Sacra, tom. ii. p. 996. ^h Concil. tom. ix. p. 819.

Year of
Christ 1024.

of *Monte Cassino* with many valuable Reliques sent thither from the *Lateran Church*. Of these Reliques the Reader will find an Inventory in *Leo Ostiensis*, by whom the following are mentioned among the rest, *viz.* Some of the Wood of the Cross, of the Garment, and of the Blood of our Saviour, a Splinter of one of the Stones, with which *St. Stephen* was stoned, and some Drops of his Blood, some of the Veil of the Virgin *Mary*, and of the Garments of most of the Apostles, and of many other Saints ⁱ. This Pope, for all his good Works, is said to have been condemned to Purgatory, and appearing to *John*, Bishop of *Porto*, to have told him, that he should not be delivered from these scorching Flames till *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluny*, prayed him out of them. This Intelligence the Bishop communicated to the Abbot, who falling immediately upon his Knees, continued praying till it was revealed to him that his Petition was heard ^k.

His Writ-
ings.

We have One Letter of this Pope addressed to the Bishops of *Burgundy*, *Aquitain* and *Provence*, to *Burchard*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, and to Eighteen other Bishops or Archbishops, who are all named. In that Letter the Pope excommunicates, and orders the Bishops to excommunicate those, who had usurped the Possessions of the Monastery of *Cluny*, and thereby deprived the Monks of the Means of relieving the Poor, and exercising Hospitality. The Pope says in that Letter, that he had complained of these Usurpations in the Presence of *Robert*, King of the *Franks*, and of the Nobility, who attended him to *Rome* ^l. From these Words it appears, that the King undertook a Journey to *Rome*, though not the least Notice is taken of that Journey by any of the contemporary Writers: And we know not when he performed it, the Pope's Letter being dated the First of *September*, without any Mention of the Year.

ⁱ Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 28.
&c.

^k Petrus Damian. vit. B. Odilon Sigebert. Chron.
^l Concil. tom. ix. p. 810.

John XIX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Year of
Christ 1024.

BASILIVS,
CONSTANTINE,
Emperors of the East.

JOHN XIX.

CONRAD II.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and forty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

UPON the Death of *Benedict*, his Brother, named *John*, was John XIX. raised to the See by Dint of Money, says *Glaber*, a contemporary Writer^a, though at the Time of his Election he was but a Layman. We have seen *Hadrian* and the succeeding Popes refusing to acknowledge *Photius* for lawful Patriarch, and declaring his Ordination to be null, because he had not passed through the inferior Degrees. But these Irregularities were overlooked by the Roman Clergy, the best Bidder, whether an Ecclesiastic or Layman, being sure at this time to carry his Election. All we know for certain of the Time of his Ordination is, that he was ordained before the Month of *September* 1024, one of his Bulls dated that Month, 1027, being said to have been issued in the Fourth Year of his Pontificate^b.

In the very Beginning of *John's* Pontificate the Emperor *Basilius*, He refuses and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, sent a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, the Title of Universal Bishop to the Patriarch of *Rome* was stiled Universal Bishop of the whole World. As it was well known in the East and every-where else, that all things were venal at *Rome*, the Papacy itself not excepted, the Embassadors brought Presents with them of an immense Value for the Pope and the rest of the Clergy; and they would have certainly carried their Point, says *Hugh* Abbot of *Fleury*, had not both *Italy* and *France* taken the Alarm, and the Request of the *Greeks* been strongly opposed by some of the most eminent Men then in the West for their Learning and Piety. Among these was *William*, Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Benignus* in *Dijon*, who wrote a short but very strong Letter to the Pope, to divert him from complying, upon any Consideration whatever, with the unjust and insidious Demands of the *Greeks*. The Pope, finding he could not gratify the Emperor and the Patriarch without disobliging those,

^a Glaber, l. i. c. 4.

^b Hist. Ital. Sacra, tom. v. p. 48.

Year of
Christ 1025.

who had nothing so much at Heart as the Honour and Dignity of his See, dismissed the Embassadors, telling them, that the Title of *Universal Bishop* became none but the Successors of *St. Peter* in the Apostolic See, and that none but his Successors should wear it c. This is the Title, of which it was said by Pope *Gregory the Great*, that whoever assumed it was either the Antichrist or the Forerunner of the Antichrist.

Crowns
Conrad
Emperor.
Year of
Christ 1027.

The Emperor *Henry II.* dying in 1024 without Issue, *Conrad*, surnamed the *Salic*, chosen King of *Germany* in his room, entered *Italy* with a powerful Army about the Beginning of Lent 1026, and having reduced all the Towns there, that had shaken off the Yoke, he went to *Rome*, no Doubt invited thither by the Pope, who had gone as far as *Como* to meet him upon his first coming into *Italy*. He was received at *Rome* with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy by all Ranks of People; and on Easter-Day the Pope crowned him Emperor with the usual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. Queen *Gisela* was at the same time crowned Empress; and this august Ceremony was performed in the Presence of *Rudolph*, King of *Burgundy*, and *Canutus*, King of *England*, who, when divine Service was ended, attended the new Emperor, says *Wolferus*, walking between them, back to his Chamber d. It is to be observed, that *Wippo*, who lived in the Court of *Conrad*, and was one of the Priests of his Chapel, speaking of his Promotion to the Imperial Dignity, says, that he was chosen Emperor by the *Romans* and crowned by the Pope, calling him constantly King before, and constantly Emperor after he was elected by the *Romans*, and the Ceremony of his Coronation or Consecration was performed by the Pope; which fully confutes what some have asserted, viz. that whoever was elected King of *Germany* became Emperor by that Election alone.

Canutus,
King of
England,
at Rome.

Canutus or *Cnutus*, who assisted, as has been said, at the Coronation of *Conrad*, had undertaken a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, in Compliance with the fashionable Devotion of those Times. From *Rome* the King wrote a Letter to the Bishops of his Kingdom, wherein he expresses great Satisfaction at the Reception he had met with from the Pope, as well as from the Emperor and the King of *Burgundy*; and at the same time acquaints them, that he had obtained of those

c Hugo Flavin. in Chron. Glab. l. iv. c. 1.

d Wippo in Vit. Cunegund. Wolfer. in Vit. Sancti Godehard apud Mabill. secul. Benedict. VI. Part. i. num. 28.

John XIX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Princes an Exemption from all Tolls and Taxes for such of his Subjects as should pass through their Dominions either to trade, or to visit the holy Places at *Rome*. He adds in his Letter, that he had complained to the Pope of the immense Sums that were extorted from his Archbishops when they went to *Rome* for the Pall, and that the Pope had promised to moderate those exorbitant Charges. Whether the present Age reaped any Benefit from the Pope's Promise we know not; but it is very certain that future Ages reaped none. In the same Letter the King promises to rectify for the future whatever was amiss in his Government, to square his Conduct by the strictest Rules of Equity, and orders Justice to be administered without Distinction of Persons^e.

Year of
Christ 1027

In the Year 1030 *Peter* Bishop of *Girona* in *Spain*, coming to *Rome*, begged Leave of the Pope to wear the Pall Twelve Days in the Year, promising to redeem Thirty Slaves in Captivity among the *Saracens*, provided his Holiness granted him his Request. It was readily granted, and the Days were named, the chief Solemnities of the Year, on which he was allowed to use that Ornament. But the Pope declared, that the Privilege he granted him was only personal, and should not descend to his Successors in that See^f.

Grants the
Use of the
Pall to the
Bishop of Gi-
rona.

John XIX. died in 1033, having held the See Nine Years and Nine Days, as we read in the most exact Catalogues. He is said to have been hated by the *Romans* on account of his uncommon Severity; nay, *Baronius* supposes him to have been driven by them from his See in 1033, and to have been restored to it by the Emperor *Conrad*. But as no Notice is taken by any contemporary Writer of *Conrad's* going to *Rome* in that Year, and all speak of his entering *Italy* at the Head of a powerful Army in 1038, and marching to *Rome* in order to restore the Pope, (*viz. Benedict IX.* the Successor of *John*) whom the *Romans* had driven from the See, what *Baronius* supposes to have happened to Pope *John* must have happened to Pope *Benedict*.

He dies.
Year of
Christ 1033.

Of this Pope we have Three Letters, the One addressed to *Jordan* Bishop of *Limoges*, and to the other *Gallican* Bishops, wherein he declares *Martialis*, the First Bishop of that City, worthy of the Title of an Apostle, and allows him to be called so. For it had

His Writ-
ings-

^e Concil. tom. ix. p. 861, et apud Baron. ad ann. 1027. Hispan. l. iv.

^f Baluz. Mari.

The History of the POPES, or John XIX.

been disputed in Two Councils, the One held at *Poitiers* in 1023, the other at *Paris* in 1031, whether that holy Bishop should be stiled an Apostle or only a Confessor; and as those wise Prelates could not settle that Point among themselves, they applied to the Pope, who decided the important Question in the Manner I have said ^s. Another Letter of *John XIX.* has reached our Times written in 1029 to *Odilo*, Abbot of *Cluny*, whereby he offers him and even commands him to accept the Archbishopric of *Lyons*, vacant by the Death of *Burchard*, who had been greatly beloved by his Clergy and the People of the Diocese. But the holy Abbot withstood to the last so tempting an Offer, though threatened by the Pope with Excommunication if he did not comply ^b. The Third Letter was written by the Pope on the following Occasion. In the Council held at *Limoges* in 1031 several *Gallican* Bishops complained of the Pope's absolving those, whom they had excommunicated, upon their going as Pilgrims to *Rome*. The Bishop of *Puy* in particular remonstrated against that Abuse, as entirely subverting the Ecclesiastical Discipline, told the Fathers of the Assembly, that a few Years before the Count of *Auvergne*, upon being excommunicated by his Bishop for dismissing his lawful Wife and marrying another, had gone to *Rome*, and there obtained a general Absolution of the Pope, as he did not know that the Count was excommunicated. He added, that the Bishop having complained thereof to the Pope, his Holiness had answered, that he was not to blame, but the Bishop, who had not informed him that the Count was excommunicated as he might and ought to have done; that if he had known it, far from taking off the Excommunication, he would have confirmed it, as he thought it his Duty to second his Brethren and not to contradict or oppose them; that it was far from his Thoughts to give room to any Schism or Misunderstanding between him and them, and that he therefore revoked and annulled the Absolution obtained by Surprise, and desired them to let the Person, whom he had thus absolved, know, that instead of his Absolution and Blessing, his Curse should attend him, till he satisfied his Bishop, and by him was absolved. Another Case was related of the same Nature, said to have happened in the Diocese of *Angoulesme*, where a Person, upon being refused Absolution by his Bishop, delivered a Letter to him from the Pope, requiring him to

^s Concil. tom. ix.^b Dach. Spicileg. tom. ii.

John XIX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Christ 1033.

absolve the Offender upon his performing the Penance enjoined him at *Rome*. But to that Letter the Bishop paid no Kind of Regard, telling the Person, who brought it, that he should continue under the Excommunication, which he had incurred, till he had fulfilled the Penance, that he or his Archdeacon should, by his Order, impose on him. Upon these Two Instances the Council decreed, that the Pope might lessen the Penance imposed by a Bishop, or add to it, in order to proportion it to the Crime,* and likewise impose Penances on those, who were sent by their Bishops to obtain Forgiveness at *Rome*, but could not prescribe Penance, or give Absolution to any Person without the Knowledge of his Bishop, it being the Duty of the Vicar of St. *Peter* to maintain the other Bishops in the Possession of their just Rights, that they may be able to support him in the Possession of hisⁱ.

This Pope is greatly commended by *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, *Ciacconius*, &c. and by most of the modern Writers. But I find no such Commendations bestowed on him by the contemporary Historians; nay *Glaber*, who lived in those Days, says, in express Terms, that he purchased the See with Money, as has been already observed. *Martinus Polonus* tells us, that the Pope caused all, who had robbed the Pilgrims coming to *Rome*, to be publicly executed; that the Cardinal (who perhaps shared the Plunder with the Robbers) provoked at his putting so many Persons to Death, let him know in his last Illness, that they did not think one, who had shed so much Christian Blood, worthy of a Place, after his Death, among his holy Predecessors, in the Church of the Prince of the Apostles; that thereupon the Pope begged his Body might be laid before the Church Door, giving them Leave to dispose of it as they pleased, if the Door, how carefully soever guarded, and locked, and barred, did not fly open of itself; and that his Body being placed after his Death as he had directed, a violent Wind arose that Moment, and blew the Door to the other End of the Church. This Story is gravely related by *Martinus Polonus*, and after him by *Palatius*^k.

ⁱ Concil. tom. ix. p. 908.
xix.

^k Mart. Polon. in Greg. vi. et Palat. in Joan.

Year of
Christ 1033.

ROMANUS
ARGYRUS,
Emperor of the East.

BENEDICT IX. CONRAD II,
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and forty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

Benedict IX.
chosen.

JOHN was succeeded by *Theophylact*, Nephew to the Two preceding Popes, and at the Time of his Election about Eighteen Years old. But as his Father *Alberic*, Count of *Tusculum*, spared no Money, his Party prevailed, and *Benedict IX* for he took that Name, was ordained, as we read in the best Writers, in the Month of *November 1033*. *Desiderius*, afterwards Pope under the Name of *Victor III.* speaking of *Benedict*, stiles him the Successor of *Simon* the Sorcerer, and not of *Simon* the Apostle, and paints him as one abandoned to all Manner of Vice ^a.

Visits the
Emperor.
Year of
Christ 1037.

In the Year 1037 the Emperor *Conrad* coming into *Italy* to quell a Rebellion raised there by the Archbishop of *Milan* and other discontented Lords, the Pope went to pay him a Visit at *Cremona*, and being received by him with all possible Marks of Respect, he deposed and excommunicated the Archbishop of *Milan*. But the Archbishop, paying no Sort of Regard to that Sentence, kept Possession of the See to the Hour of his Death ^b. From *Cremona* the Pope returned to *Rome*, but the *Romans*, shocked at his Debaucheries, and the wicked Life he publicly led, drove him soon after from the See. He fled to the Emperor, who espousing his Cause, marched straight to *Rome*, as he was then in *Lombardy*, and, entering the City without Opposition, restored the Pope, visited the holy Places there, and then returned to *Lombardy* without hearkening to the just Complaints brought by the *Romans* against him ^c. *Glaber* tells us, that this Pope was several Times driven from his See, but that he always recovered it by some Means or other, though universally hated and despised ^d.

Is driven
from the See
and restored
by the Em-
peror.

Year of
Christ 1038.

The Pope
absolves Ca-
simir, a Monk
and Deacon,
from his
Vows.

Benedict IX. is the First Pope that released a Monk, who had made his solemn Profession, from his Vows; and he did it on the following Occasion. *Misico*, the Second of that Name, King of

^a Desid. Dialog. l. iii.

^b Hermann. Contract. ad ann. 1038.

^c Leo

Ostiens. l. ii. c. 169. Glaber. l. iv. c. 89.

^d Idem l. iii. c. 5.

Poland,

Benedict IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Year of
Christ 1041.

Poland, dying in 1034, and dreadful Disturbances arising after his Death in that Kingdom, his Son *Casimir*, not caring to undertake the Government in Times of such Confusion, withdrew first to *Hungary*, and afterwards, to *France*. During his Stay in *France* he visited the famous Monastery of *Cluny*, and being there taken with the Conversation and exemplary Lives of the Monks, he embraced the same State of Life, and exchanging the Name of *Casimir* for that of *Charles*, made his Profession among them. But, in the mean time the *Poles*, weary of the Anarchy that prevailed, and the Disorders attending it, resolved to place the lawful Heir on the Throne, as the only Means of restoring Peace to the Kingdom. But as they knew not where he was, nor what was become of him, they applied to the Queen, his Mother, who had fled with him, and was then in *Germany*, and being informed by her, that he had embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Cluny*, they sent thither some of the chief Lords of the Kingdom to represent to him the deplorable Condition, to which his unhappy Subjects were reduced, and entreat him to return, and by taking upon him the Government, which he alone had a Right to, put an End to their intestine Divisions. The Deputies found, upon their Arrival at *Cluny*, that *Casimir* had not only made his solemn Profession, but had been ordained Deacon. However, having obtained Leave of the holy Abbot *Odilo* to speak to him, they delivered their Message, earnestly entreating him, in the Name of the whole Nation, to come and redeem them from the Calamities, with which they had been so long afflicted. *Casimir* answered, that he had vowed perpetual Obedience to his Abbot, and therefore could not dispose of himself, that he pitied their Condition, and wished they could find some other Person to rescue them from the Miseries, which they so justly complained of; but as for himself, he could lend them no other Assistance, but that of his Prayers, without a Breach of his Vow, which he was determined religiously to observe to the Hour of his Death. Hereupon the Deputies applied to the Abbot, who, thinking it exceeded the Limits of his Power to absolve a professed Monk from his Vows, referred them to the Pope. They therefore undertook a Journey to *Rome*, and having there represented to *Benedict* the distracted State of the Nation, the little Regard that was paid to Religion, and the many Enormities, that were daily committed in the different Parts of the Kingdom, for Want of a lawful Governor

Year of
Christ 1041. } to punish the Delinquents, they obtained Permission of his Holiness for *Casimir* to exchange the Cowl for a Crown, nay, and, though he was a Deacon, to marry. As nothing was, in those Days, to be got at *Rome* without Money, the Pope granted that extraordinary Dispensation, upon Condition that the Nobles of *Poland* paid yearly a Penny a Man to the Apostolic See, shaved their Heads after the Manner of the Monks, and, on the chief Festivals of our Saviour, and the Virgin *Mary*, wore a Linnen Cloth round their Necks in the Shape of a Priest's Stole. With these Terms the Deputies readily complied, and *Casimir*, having upon his Return assembled a general Diet, sent a solemn Embassy to *Rome* to thank the Pope, in the Name of the whole Nation, for the Dispensation, and pay him the Tribute.

Benedict
driven anew
from the
See and re-
stored.
Year of
Christ 1044. } There were in this Pope's Time Two very powerful Factions in *Rome*, that divided the City into Two opposite and irreconcilable Parties. At the Head of the one were the Counts of *Tusculum*, and at that of the other the *Roman* Family of the *Ptolemies*. The latter, no longer able to bear with the daily Rapines, Murders, Abominations of the young Pope, stirred up the *Roman* People against him, and having got the better of the *Tusculan* Party, drove *Benedict* out of *Rome*, and placed *John*, Bishop of *Sabina*, under the Name of *Silvester* III. in the Chair in his stead. But the Counts of *Tusculum* prevailing again, *Silvester* was driven out, in his Turn, after Three Months, and *Benedict* restored.

Sells the
Pontificate.
Year of
Christ 1045. } The Pope, though powerfully supported by his Family, resolved, as he found himself become, by his enormous Wickedness, a public Object of Contempt and Abhorrence, to part with the Popedom, that he might the more freely indulge himself in his Debaucheries. He accordingly sold it to *John* Archpriest of the *Roman* Church, said by Pope *Victor* III. to have been the most religious Man, at that Time, in the whole Body of the *Roman* Clergy &c. What must the rest of the *Roman* Clergy have been, if a Simoniac was the most religious among them!

* Joan. Languin. in Hist. Rerum Polonic.
Officenf. l. ii. c. 80.

† Victor III. Dialog. iii. Leo

8 Idem ibid.

Gregory VI. BISHOPS of Rome,

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Year of
Christ 1046.

CONSTANTINE
MONOMACHUS,
Emperor of the East.

GREGORY VI. HENRY III.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and forty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

BENEDICT, having consigned the Pontifical Ensigns to *John*, Gregory VI. called by some *Gratian*, betook himself to a private Life, riot-^{raised by Si-}ing, without Restraint or Controul, in all Manner of Debaucheries, ^{mony.} and *John*, without any previous Election, took Possession of the Chair he had purchased, under the Name of *Gregory VI.* He was a Native of *Rome*, and his Family was one of the most powerful and opulent they in that City. *Otto Frisingensis*, who wrote in 1158, pretends *Gregory* to have paid a large Sum of Money to *Benedict* with no other View but to induce him by that Means to quit the Pontificate, which he so much disgraced, to have been actuated therein by Zeal and not by Ambition, and upon the Resignation of the other to have been canonically chosen by the *Roman* People and the Clergy. That Writer adds, that he made it his Study to reform the many scandalous Abuses that had been introduced, or connived at by his wicked Predecessors; that with his Discretion and Prudence he restored good Order in the City, and was therefore deservedly looked upon by the *Romans* as their Deliverer^a. But *Hermannus Contractus*, *Bonizo*, Bishop of *Sutri*, who lived at this very Time in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, *Victor III.* and *Clement II.* the immediate Successor of *Gregory*, speak of him as a Simoniac Intruder, as one, who had not been raised by Merit, but by Corruption and Bribery to the See of *St. Peter*.

In the mean time *Henry III.* King of *Germany*, who had succeeded Gregory, his Father *Conrad* in that Kingdom in 1039, hearing of the dread-^{Silvester and Benedict de-}ful Disorders that reigned in *Rome*, of the scandalous Lives led by ^{posed in a} the Popes, and the entire Disregard that was shewn by them, as well ^{Council.} as their Clergy, to all Religion and Virtue, resolved to go in Person ^{Year of} and enquire, upon the Spot, into the Conduct of the Popes, and the ^{Christ 1046.} State of the Church. He accordingly set out from *Germany* in 1046, and arriving at *Sutri* assembled a Council in that City, at which were

^a *Otto Frisingens. l. vi. c. 25.*

Year of
Christ 1046.

present almost all the Bishops of *Italy*. The King invited *Gregory* to preside at it; and he readily complied with the Invitation, flattering himself, that the King, by desiring him to preside at a Council, tacitly acknowledged him for lawful Pope. But he soon found, that he had been sent for only to clear himself, if he could, from the Charge brought against him, that of having purchased with Money the Pontifical Dignity. He owned at once what he could not deny, the infamous Bargain being well known to every Bishop in the Council, and quitting his Chair, he divested himself, in full Council, of the Pontifical Ornaments, gave up the Pastoral Staff, and begging Forgiveness renounced all Claim to the Chair of *St. Peter*. By the same Council *Benedict IX.* and *Silvester III.* were declared Usurpers, Simoniacs, Intruders, and as such deposed, and forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, ever to attempt the Recovery of a Dignity, of which they had shown themselves unworthy by their wicked Lives, as well as by the Means they had employed to attain it. Thus *Victor III.* who lived at this Time, and was chosen Pope Nine Years after this Council^b. Though the Election of *Gregory* was certainly null, he is reckoned in all the Catalogues among the lawful Popes, for no other Reason, that I can see, but because the next *Gregory* called himself the Seventh of that Name, and speaking of *Gregory VI.* gives him the Title of Pope. He held the See Two Years and Eight Months. The Emperor, on his Return to *Germany*, took *Gregory* with him; and as for the other Two Pretenders to the See, *Silvester III.* was sent back to his Bishopric; but *Benedict IX.* kept himself concealed so long as the Emperor continued in *Italy*, and we shall see him raising new Disturbances upon the Death of the next Pope.

CONSTANTINE
MONOMACHUS,
Emperor of the East.

CLEMENT II.

HENRY III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and forty-seventh Bishop of Rome.

Clement II.
chosen.

THE See being declared vacant by the Resignation of *Gregory*, and the Deposition of the other Two, the King and the Bishops of the Council repaired to *Rome* in order to chuse there, joint-

^b Victor Dialog. l. iii.

Clement II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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ly with the People and Clergy, a new Pope. They met on Christmas-Day 1046 in the Church of St. *Peter*, when the *Romans* declaring, that there was not a Man in the whole *Roman* Clergy, whom they could recommend as worthy of the Pontifical Dignity, the King named *Suiger*, Bishop of *Bamberg*, then in his Retinue; and he was upon his Nomination unanimously chosen, and placed, being already a Bishop, on the Pontifical Throne^a. *Papebroche* observes, that upon his Election he did not resign the Bishopric of *Bamberg*. For that See is said to have become, Nine Months after, vacant by his Death. He was a Native of *Saxony*, and had been preferred by the King for his eminent Virtues to the See of *Bamberg*. We are told that he declined the Pontificate as long as he could, but was in the End forced to yield to the pressing Instances of the King and the People. Upon his Installation he took the Name of *Clement* b.

Year of
Christ 1046.

The new Pope upon the Day of his Election crowned *Henry* Emperor, and *Agnes* his Queen Empress, and walked, in solemn Procession, with both, from the Church of St. *Peter* to the *Læteran* Palace, attended by the *Roman* Nobility and vast Crowds of People flocking from all Quarters to see the new Pope and the new Emperor c.

Crowds Henry
Emperor
and his Wife
Agnes Em-
press.

As Simony prevailed, almost universally, all over the West, the Pope assembled a Council in *Rome* in order to extirpate so common an Evil; and several Canons were issued against all, who should sell, or should purchase any Ecclesiastical Dignity whatever. In this Council a warm Dispute arose between the Two Archbishops of *Milan* and *Ravenna* about Precedency, both claiming the Privilege of sitting at the Pope's Right Hand in the Absence of the Emperor, and at his Left when the Emperor was present. This important Point gave Occasion to a long Debate; and the Pope, after hearing both Sides, gave Sentence in Favour of the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, ordering, by Virtue of his Apostolic Authority, the said Archbishop always to sit at his Right Hand, unless the Emperor should happen to be present, and in that Case to sit at his Left d.

Dispute be-
tween the
Archbishops
of Ravenna
and Milan.
Year of
Christ 1047.

The Emperor, after a short Stay at *Rome*, went from thence to *Beneventum*, but the Citizens refusing him Admittance into their

The Pope ex-
communicates
the Beneven-
tans.

^a Victor Dialog. l. 3. Hermann. Contract. 1048.

^c Hermann. Contract. 21, et Lambert. ibid.

^b Lambert. Schafnaburg. ad

^d Concil. tom.

ix. p. 1257.

Year of
Christ 1047.

City, he obliged the Pope, whom he had taken with him, to thunder out the Sentence of Excommunication against them. But they, in Defiance of all his Anathemas, kept their Gates shut. From *Beneventum* the Pope repaired, with the Emperor, to *Salerno*, and there confirmed the Translation of *John*, Bishop of *Pesto*, to the Archiepiscopal See of that City, and gave him the Pall^f. The Pope and the Emperor kept their Easter, this Year 1047, at *Mantua*, and went from thence into *Germany*. But the Pope must have stayed there a very short Time, as we are assured by the most credible Writers, that he died at *Rome*, or in the Neighbourhood of that City, (*in Romanis Partibus, in Romanis Finibus*) on the Ninth of *October* of the same Year, after a Pontificate of Nine Months and Fifteen Days g. From *Rome* or the Neighbourhood of *Rome* his Body was carried to *Bamberg*, and buried there with the following Epitaph, *The most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord Suiger of Mayendurf, a Saxon, the Second Bishop of Bamberg, and afterwards High Pontiff, died at Rome on the Tenth of October 1047^h*. He is said, in his Epitaph, to have died on the Tenth of *October*: But all the antient Writers place his Death on the Ninth of that Month. His being buried at *Bamberg* probably led *Leo Ostiensis* into the Mistake of his dying *beyond the Mountains*.

He dies.

Canonized
St. Wiborada.

Clement, while in *Germany*, canonized *St. Wiborada*, Virgin and Martyr, who had been martyred by the *Hungarians* in 925, that is, being informed of the holy Life she had led, and the Miracles she had wrought, he ordered her to be honoured as a Saint, and the Day of her Death to be annually solemnized as a Festival i.

His Writings.

Of this Pope we have a Bull dated the Twenty-first of *March* 1047, confirming the Translation of *John* Bishop of *Pesto*, to the Archiepiscopal See of *Salerno*, and granting him Leave to wear the Pall on the same Day, as his Predecessors had done.

* Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 81.

f Glaber, l. 5.

g Hermann. Contract.

ad ann. 1048. Lambert. Schaf. Structor. Vit. Sancti Henrici.

h Papebroc.

Conat. Chronic.

i Burchard, l. vi. et Mabill. sec. Benedict V.

Damasus II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Year of
Christ 1047.

CONSTANTINE
MONOMACHUS,
Emperor of the East.

DAMASUS II.

HENRY III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and forty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

THE See being vacant by the Death of *Clement*, the *Romans* dispatched immediately Messengers into *Germany*, to acquaint the Emperor therewith, and desire him to appoint him a Successor. But in the mean time *Benedict IX.* who had sold and resigned the Pontificate to *Gregory VI.* as has been said, seized on it the Third Time, being supported by the Interest and Wealth of his Family, and held it Eight Months and Ten Days, that is, from the Eighth of *November* to the Seventeenth of *July* of the following Year 1048, when *Popponius*, whom the Emperor had nominated to the vacant See, arriving in *Rome*, he thought it adviseable to quit the Chair, and make Room for one, who had so powerful a Protector. *Popponius* was a Native of *Bavaria*, and Bishop of *Brixen*, and looked upon as a Man of great Learning in those Days and no less Piety. The *Romans* recommended *Halinard*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, to the Emperor. But he, not satisfied with rejecting the Dignity they offered him, privately withdrew from Court, and absconded till another was named. *Halinard* used yearly to visit the Tombs of the Apostles, was well known to the Clergy and People of *Rome*, and by all greatly beloved and esteemed for his Affability and the Sanctity of his Life; and it was upon his declining the Pontifical Dignity that the Emperor conferred it on the Bishop of *Brixen*^b. But he enjoyed it a very short Time, only Twenty-three Days, and died at *Præneste* on the Eighth of *August* 1048. Cardinal *Benno* supposes him to have died of a poisonous Draught administered to him by *Benedict*. But of that no Notice is taken by any other contemporary Writer. He was buried in the Church of St. *Lawrence* without the Walls of the City.

Damasus appointed Pope by the Emperor.

Dis. Year of Christ 1048.

^a Herma 1. Contract. Leo Olfens. l. ii. c. 81.

^b Dacher. Spicileg. tom. i.

Year of
Christ 1048.

CONSTANTINE
MONOMACHUS,
Emperor of the East.

LEO IX.

HENRY III.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and forty-ninth BISHOP of Rome.

Leo IX.
chosen in
Germany.

Opposes his
Election.

Yields upon
Condition of
his being
freely elected
by the Clergy
and People of
Rome.

UPON the Death of *Damasus* the Romans applied anew to the Emperor for one, worthy of so high a Post, to succeed him. As they named no particular Person, the Emperor, upon the Arrival of their Deputies, convened at *Worms* an Assembly of the chief Lords and Bishops of his Kingdom, and leaving to them the Election of the new Pope, charged them to chuse one capable of restoring the See of St. *Peter* to its former Reputation and Dignity. At this Assembly was present, among the rest, *Bruno*, Bishop of *Toul*; and he was chosen at once with the greatest Unanimity, that had ever been seen in the Election of a Pope. But he, thinking himself unworthy of so high a Dignity, and incapable of performing the Duties attending it, long withstood the pressing Instances of the whole Assembly, and of the Emperor himself. But finding that in Spite of his Tears, his Entreaties, and of all he could urge against his Promotion, they persisted, all to a Man, in the Choice they had made, he begged they would allow him, at least, Three Days to deliberate with himself concerning an Affair of the utmost Importance to the whole Church as well as to him. They granted him his Request; and he spent the whole Time that was allowed him in Prayer, abstaining from all Manner of Food. At last he made a public Confession of his Sins, flattering himself, that he should thus lessen the Opinion, which they entertained of his Sanctity. But such an Instance of Humility served only to heighten the Esteem, in which they held him before; and he was in the End forced to comply. But it was upon Condition that the *Roman* People and Clergy approved and confirmed his Election. Thus *Wibert*, *Bruno's* Archdeacon, and an Eye Witness of what he writes^a. St. *Bruno*, Bishop of *Segni*, who wrote in this very Century, entirely agrees with *Wibert*. For he tells us, that the Bishop of *Toul*, finding the Emperor and the Assembly unalterable in their Resolution of placing him in the Pontifical Chair, yielded at last, upon Condition that he was freely chosen by the People

^a Wibert. in Vit. S. Leon. l. ii. c. 2.

Leo IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

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and Clergy of *Rome*; nay, and that he acquainted the Assembly with his Intention of travelling to that City in order to be chosen there anew; adding, that he should otherwise look upon his Election as null ^b. The same Writer informs us, that the Condition, insisted upon by the holy Bishop, being agreed to by the Emperor and the Assembly, he returned to his Bishopric, celebrated the Festival of Christmas there, and then set out for *Rome* in the Habit of a Pilgrim. The *Romans*, informed by the Deputies they had sent to the Emperor of what had passed in the Assembly of *Worms*, no sooner heard of his Approach, than flocking out to meet him, they received him with Songs of Joy and loud Acclamations. He walked bare-foot to the Church of St. *Peter*, and having there prayed some time at the Tomb of the Apostle, he informed the Clergy and People of his having been nominated by the Emperor to the Apostolic See; but added, that, as by the Canons the Election of a Bishop was null, unless made by the People and Clergy, they were still at full Liberty to chuse or reject him, begged they would declare their Thoughts freely, and assured them, that it was against his own Will, and in Compliance with the Emperor's, that he offered to take upon him so important a Charge; and that if he was not unanimously elected by them, he would return to his Bishopric as willingly as he had left it unwillingly. His Speech was received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy by the Clergy and People, and he was by them unanimously proclaimed Sovereign Pontiff, and placed a few Days after on the Pontifical Throne under the Name of *Leo IX* ^c.

Year of
Christ 1048.

Goes to
Rome in the
Habit of a
Pilgrim;
is chosen
there.

Thus *Wibert*, an Eye-witness, as has been said, of what he relates, and likewise the Bishop of *Segni*, who flourished in the same Century. We may therefore well conclude, from what we read in them, that *Otto Frisingensis*, who lived about the Middle of the following Century, was misinformed, when he wrote, that *Leo IX*. assuming the Pontifical Ornaments upon his Election at *Worms*, travelled in that Attire through *France*; but that having visited, on his Journey, the Monastery of *Cluny*, the famous *Hildebrand*, then Prior, by representing to him how degrading it was for the Sovereign Pontiff to owe his Dignity to a Layman, prevailed upon him to quit the Pontifical Ensigns, and pursue his Journey to *Rome* in the Habit of a Pilgrim; that the Monk, taking upon him to manage his

This not suggested to him
by Hildebrand.

^b Bruno in Vit. Leon. IX.

^c Idem ibid.

Election,

Year of
Christ 1048.

Election, attended him to *Rome*, and there got him unanimously elected. This Account contradicts that of the Two more unexceptionable Writers, quoted above. For *Wibert*, who was then at *Toul*, tells us, that *Leo* set out from thence in the Garb of a Pilgrim, and takes no kind of Notice of his passing through *France*, of his visiting the Monastery of *Cluny*, or his meeting there with *Hildebrand*; nay, the Bishop of *Segni* says in explicit Terms, that *Hildebrand* was present at the Assembly or Dict of *Worms*, and that *Leo* took him from thence to *Toul*, and from *Toul* to *Rome*^d.

His Family,
&c.

Leo was descended of an illustrious Family, and nearly related to the Emperor. He was brought up under *Berthold*, Bishop of *Toul*, and *Herman*, who succeeded *Berthold* in that See. He was ordained Deacon in 1025, and Bishop of *Toul* on the Ninth of September of the following Year^e. *Ordericus* supposes him to have been preferred by his Predecessor *Damasus* to the Dignity of Cardinal^f. But of that Preferment no Notice is taken by the contemporary Writer of his Life. From *Worms*, where he was elected by the Lords and Bishops of *Germany*, he returned to *Toul*, and setting out from thence on the Twenty-seventh of December 1048, he arrived at *Rome* on the Second of the following February, was unanimously elected the same Day, and on the Twelfth of that Month introned, or placed with great Solemnity on the Pontifical Throne, a Ceremony that was always performed on a Sunday; and in 1049 the Twelfth of February fell on a Sunday.

When in-
throned.

Consecrates
the Abbot of
Richenou.

The first Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his consecrating *Udalric*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Richenou*, and confirming all the Privileges that his Predecessors had granted to that Monastery. This Bull is dated at *Rome* the Twenty-sixth of March, which in 1049 was Easter-Day; whence it is plain that he did not celebrate his Easter, as we read in some Writers, in the Monastery of *Monte Cassino*.

Holds a
Council at
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1049.

Leo, impatient to redress the many scandalous Abuses that prevailed in the Church, more especially to extirpate the Vice of Simony, that had almost every-where taken deep Root, assembled a Council at *Rome* the Second Week after Easter, at which were present all the *Italian*, and the greater Part of the *Gallican* Bishops, with *Hilinand* Archbishop of *Lyons*. By this Council all simoniacal Bargains

^d Bruno in Vit. Leon. IX.

^e Wibert. in ejus Vit.

^f Orderic, l. ii. p. 372.

were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication and Deposition, some Bishops convicted of Simony were deposed, and it was ordained, that they, who had received Ordination at the Hands of a simoniacal Bishop, should perform no Ecclesiastical Functions till they had performed a Forty Days Penance. The Pope was for having all simoniacal Ordinations declared null; but he was therein opposed by the major Part of the Bishops, remonstrating, that if such a Decree should take place, scarce any would be found in some Dioceses capable of performing the Sacerdotal or Episcopal Functions. By the same Council it was decreed, that all Christians should pay Tythes, the very Name of Tythes being unheard of in *Apulia*, and in several other Places; some Marriages within the forbidden Degrees were annulled, and the Parties, though Persons of Distinction, separated; Clerks, who, apostatizing from the Church, had joined in Communion with Heretics, were allowed to keep their former Ranks upon their Return to the Church, but debarred from ever rising to a higher Degree. Several other Canons were issued by this Council, all calculated to correct and reform the licentious Lives of the Laity as well as the Clergy &c. *Wibert* writes, that the Bishop of *Sutri*, accused in this Council of Simony, produced several false Witnesses to confute that Charge, but that while he himself was upon the Point of taking the false Oath, that his Witnesses had taken, he suddenly dropt down, and being carried out of the Council expired soon after. ^b

The Council ended about the 12th of *April* of the present Year; The Pope and the Pope, having first obtained Leave of the *Romans*, says the Writer of his Life, set out soon after for *France*, in order to consecrate the new-built Church of *St. Remigius* at *Reims*, pursuant to the Promise he had made to the Abbot *Herimar*, and at the same time to redress, if by any means he could the many Abuses, that prevailed in most of the Churches of that Kingdom. On his Arrival at *Pavia*, he there assembled a Council in Whitsun-Week, which Festival fell this Year on the Fourteenth of *May*. The Council consisted of the neighbouring Bishops, and those, who attended the Pope. But none of the Acts of that Assembly have been transmitted to us. From *Pavia* the Pope went first to pay the Emperor a Visit in *Saxony*, celebrated with him the Festival of *St. Peter* and *St.*

Year of
Christ 1049.

goes to
France.

Holds a
Council at
Pavia.

^s Concil. tom. ix. p. 1093. *Wibert*. in Vit. Leon. c. 4.

^b *Iidem* ibid..

Year of *Paul* at *Cologne*, and from thence repairing to *Toul*, wrote to the
 Christ 1049. *Gallican* Bishops and Abbots, requiring them to meet him at *Reims*,
 where he intended to hold a Council on the First of *October*.

Council of
 Reims.

The Pope arrived at *Reims* in the latter End of *September* attended by the Archbishops of *Treves*, of *Lyons*, of *Besançon*, and the Bishop of *Porto*, and having consecrated with great Solemnity the new Church of *St. Remigius*, and translated thither the Body of the Saint, he appointed the Council to meet there the next Day, the First of *October*. It was composed of Four Archbishops, of Fifteen Bishops, among whom was an *English* Bishop named *Dudocus*, sent by *Edward* the Confessor, and of a great Number of Abbots and other Ecclesiastics of all Ranks. As a Dispute arose, at their first Meeting, between the Archbishops of *Treves* and *Reims*, about Precedency, the Pope, leaving that Controversy to be settled at a more proper Season, caused the Seats of the Bishops to be placed in a Circle, and his own in the Middle. When they were all thus seated, *Peter*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, rising up, told them, in the Pope's Name, that his Holiness had assembled them in order to advise with them about the most effectual Means of suppressing the many Abuses that prevailed in their Churches; that in many Places the Church Lands had been usurped, and were held by Laymen; that Simony was publicly practised, and both Abbies and Bishoprics publicly sold; that incestuous Marriages were contracted without any Regard to the Canons, strictly forbidding them, as if no such Canons had ever been issued; that Monks, apostatizing from their Order, returned with Impunity to the World, which they had solemnly renounced; that Clerks, neglecting the Functions of their Office, and abandoning their Churches, bore Arms and served in War, &c.; and that it was to redress these Abuses that his Holiness was come into *France*, and had called them together. In the next place the Deacon, addressing himself to the Bishops, ordered them, in the Pope's Name, and on Pain of Excommunication, to declare whether they had been simoniacally ordained. All the Bishops but Four, *viz.* those of *Langres*, *Nevers*, *Coutances*, and *Nantes*, readily declared, that no Simony had intervened in their Ordination. The Examination of the Four Bishops was put off to another Day; and the Abbots being, in the mean time, required to make the same Declaration, some of them with their Silence owned themselves guilty. In this Session the Abbot of *Poitiers*, arraigned by the Bishop
 of

Some Bishops
 accused of
 Simony.

of *Langres*, and convicted of Incontinence, was deposed; and the Testimonies of the Fathers in favour of the Primacy of the Apostolic See being read, they were anathemized, who should give the Title of *Universal Primate* to any but the Bishop of *Rome*. Year of
Christ 1049.

In the next Session the Bishop of *Langres* was charged with Simony, Crimes laid with having borne Arms, committed Murder, tyrannized over his *to the Charge of the Bishop of Langres.* Clergy, &c. One of his Clerks deposed, that he had taken his Wife from him by Force, while he was yet a Layman; that he had debauched her, and afterwards caused her to be shut up in a Monastery: One of his Priests attested, that he had delivered him up to some Ruffians, who had used him most cruelly, in order to extort from him a Sum of Money by that means. The Archbishops of *Lyons* and *Besançon* undertook his Defence; but the latter was suddenly struck dumb, and the former could not help owning, that the Bishop had exacted Money for his Ordinations, and compelled the Priests to pay him the Sum of Money he mentioned, but denied his having ever put him to the Torture, or having committed any of the other Crimes that were laid to his Charge. As the Day was far spent, the Pope caused the Canons forbidding Simony to be read, and put off the Trial of the other Bishops charged with that Crime to the next Session.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Langres* privately withdrew, and not appearing after he had been thrice summoned, was deposed in the Third Session, and declared incapable of ever performing any Ecclesiastical Function whatever. *Withdraws from the Council, and is deposed.* In the same Session the Bishop of *Nevers* owned, that his Relations had paid a considerable Sum of Money for that Bishopric, but unknown to him; that he had not lived up to the Purity that was required of one in his Station; and was therefore ready to resign a Dignity, of which he thought himself altogether unworthy. When he had done speaking, he laid down his Crosier at the Pope's Feet, and began to divest himself of his Episcopal Ornaments. But the Pope, touched with Compassion, stopt him, and upon his taking a solemn Oath that the Bargain was made and the Money paid without his Knowledge, he restored to him his Crosier, and confirmed him in his Dignity, with full Power to exercise all Episcopal Functions. The Bishop of *Constance* owned that his Brother had purchased his Bishopric for him; but as he declared upon Oath that it was done without his Privity, nay, that he opposed his Ordination to the utmost of his Power as soon as he

Year of
Christ 1049.

was informed of it, he was not only cleared from all Simony, but commended by the Pope and the Council. The Bishop of *Nantes* had succeeded his Father in that See, and he ingenuously owned that it was not without Money he had been allowed to succeed him. He was therefore divested of the Episcopal Dignity, but suffered, in Consideration of his voluntary Confession, to retain his Priesthood, and perform the Functions of a Priest. The Archbishop of *Reims* was likewise arraigned of Simony; but the examining of his Cause was referred to a Council to be held at *Rome* about the Middle of the ensuing *April*. In this Session the Bishops, who had been summoned to the Council, and had neither appeared nor excused, in Writing, their Non-appearance, were suspended from all Ecclesiastical Functions whatever, the Abbot of *St. Medard* was excommunicated for privately withdrawing from the Council, and the same Sentence was pronounced against the Archbishop of *St. James* in *Galicia* for styling himself *Apostolical*, a Title which none but the Pope had a Right to.

Canons of
this Council.

The Twelve Canons issued by this Council, were chiefly calculated to banish Simony out of the Church; to restrain the Clergy from bearing Arms or serving in War; to prevent Marriages within the forbidden Degrees; to restore to the People and Clergy the Right of chusing their own Pastors. By the Fifth Canon the Clergy were strictly forbidden to demand or receive any Fee or Reward whatever for burying the Dead, for visiting the Sick, or for administering Baptism and the Eucharist.

The Body of
St. Remigius
translated.

The Day after the Council the Pope assisted at Mass in the Church of *St. Remigius* attended by most of the Bishops, and the Service being ended took the Body of the Saint from the Altar, where it had been laid, and carried it on his Shoulders to the Place that was prepared for it in the same Church.

Council of
Mentz.

From *Reims* the Pope returned to *Germany*, and passing through *Metz*, consecrated the Church of *St. Arnulphus* in that City. On his Arrival at *Mentz* he held another Council, at which were present Five Archbishops, and about Forty Bishops. The Emperor himself assisted at this Council, and with him the chief Lords and Princes of *Germany*. All we know of it is, that all simoniacal Bargains or Contracts were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication,

¹ Ansel. Itinerar. apud Lalbeum, tom. ix. Concil. Joan. Papien. in Spec. Radulph de Dicet. p. 475.

and Marriages of Priests not only prohibited but declared null. *Wibert* writes, that *Sibicho*, Bishop of *Spire*, charged in this Council with Adultery, denied the Charge, and took the Sacrament as a Proof of his Innocence; but that his Mouth was suddenly distorted, and so remained to the Hour of his Death ^k. Year of Christ 1049.

The Pope, during his Stay in *Germany*, ordered Divine Service to be daily performed at the Altar of *St. Peter* in the Cathedral of *Cologne*; and to distinguish the Seven Priests, whom the Archbishop should appoint to perform it, he granted them the Privilege of wearing Sandals, then an Episcopal Ornament, during the Service ^l. To the Canons of *Bamberg* he allowed the Use of the Mitre on the chief Festivals, and on the Anniversary of the Emperor *St. Henry*, the Founder of that Church ^m. The same Mark of Distinction was afterwards granted by the Popes to the Canons of other Churches, who enjoy it to this Day. The Pope, before he left *Cologne*, appointed *Herman*, Archbishop of that Place, Chancellor of the Holy Apostolic See; and he thenceforth constantly signed himself S. A. S. (that is, *Sacra Apostolica Sedis*) *Archicancellarius et Coloniensis Archiep.* ^{The Archbishop of Cologne made Chancellor of the Roman Church.} That was, it seems, a new Dignity, no Mention being any-where made of it till the present Year 1049, when *Leo* conferred it upon *Herman* and his Successors in the See of *Cologne* for ever ⁿ.

From *Mentz* the Pope set out, soon after the breaking up of the Council, on his Return to *Rome*, celebrated the Festival of *St. Clement*, and kept the First Sunday in Advent, which in 1049 fell on the 26th of *November*, in the Monastery of *Richenou*, not far from the City of *Constance*, and from thence pursuing his Journey to *Rome*, was met at a great Distance from the City by the Nobility and the Clergy, and attended by them, in a Kind of Triumph, to the Church of *St. Peter*, and from thence to the *Lateran* Palace ^o. The precise Time of his Arrival at *Rome* is no-where mentioned. But he must have staid there a very short Time. For we find him at *Monte Gargano* in the Beginning of the following Year 1050, and on Palm-Sunday at *Monte Cassino*. He visited several Cities in those Parts, restoring every-where the decayed Discipline, and inquiring, upon the Spot, into the Lives led by the Clergy. At *Sipontum*, a City that stood at the Foot of *Monte Gargano*, but is no more, he held a ^{Year of Christ 1050.}

^k Wibert. c. 5. ^l Idem, l. ii. c. 4. ^m Vit. Sancti Henrici apud Surium 14 Julii. ⁿ Cardinalis Raspon. in Basilic. Lateran. Wibert. ubi sup. ^o Wibert. l. ii. c. 6. Herman. Contra. ad ann. 1050.

Year of
Christ 1050.

Council, and deposed Two Archbishops convicted of Simony; which is all we know of that Council ^p. We are told, that at *Beneventum* a Woman, who for Fifteen Years had been confined to her Bed by Illness, was suddenly cured by drinking the Water, with which the holy Pontif had washed his Hands ^q. During his Stay at *Monte Cassino* he dined with the Monks in the common Refectory, conformed to the Rules of the Monastery, and would suffer no particular Marks of Distinction to be shewn him. Being well pleased with the regular and exemplary Lives of the Monks, he granted to the Abbot and his Successors the Privilege of wearing, on the great Festivals, Sandals, Gloves, and the Dalmatic, all Ensigns of the Episcopal Dignity ^r.

Gerard of
Toul canon-
ized.

From *Sipontum* the Pope returned to *Rome*, and there canonized, in a Council which he held soon after Easter, *Gerard*, Bishop of *Toul*, who had governed that Church Thirty-one Years, and died in 994 with the Reputation of a great Saint; nay, and had lately appeared to a Monk, and told him, that as he reigned in Heaven with the Saints, he ought to be honoured upon Earth as a Saint ^s.

Some Account
of Berenga-
rius and his
Doctrine.

In the same Council was condemned the Doctrine of the famous *Berengarius* concerning the Eucharist, contained in a Letter, which he had written to *Lanfranc*, a Monk of the Monastery of *Bec* in *Normandy*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Berengarius*, of whom I shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel, was born at *Tours* about the Beginning of the Tenth Century, studied under *Fulbert*, Bishop of *Chartres*, and upon his Death returned to *Tours*, where he was employed to teach in the public Schools of *St. Martin*. In that Employment he acquitted himself so well, that he was admitted into the Chapter, and made Treasurer of that Church. However he left *Tours*, History does not inform us on what Account, and removed to *Angers*, was preferred by *Bruno*, called also *Eusebius*, Bishop of the Place, to the Dignity of Archdeacon of that Church. It was there, and about the Year 1047, that he first began to teach his Doctrine concerning the Eucharist, *viz.* that Christ was not really but only figuratively present in that Sacrament, or that it was not the real Body and Blood of our Lord, but only a Type or Figure of his Body and Blood. Two of the most learned Writers of the preceding Century had handled this Subject before him, and

^p Wibert. *ibid.*
Benedict. p. 894.

^q *Idem* *ibid.*

^r *Idem* *ibid.*

^s *Mabill. sec. v.*

maintained

maintained quite contrary Opinions concerning it, viz. *Paschasius* ^{Year of}
Radbertus, a Monk of *Corby*, and the famous *Johannes Scotus*. ^{Christ 1050.}

In the Year 831 *Paschasius* wrote a Treatise upon the Sacrament of *The Doctrine*
the Body and Blood of our Lord, for the Instruction of the Saxon of *Paschasius*.
 Youth, who had been lately converted to the Faith, and were edu-
 cated in the new Monastery of *Corby* in *Saxony*. That Treatise he
 afterwards revised, and sent it improved with Additions to *Charles*
the Bald of *France*, when he was Abbot of *Old Corby*, and conse-
 quently after the Year 844, the Year in which he was made Abbot. In
 that Piece he plainly maintains the real Presence, and what has been
 since called *Transubstantiation*, as appears from the following Words;
 “ Though there be still the Figure of Bread and Wine, yet we are
 “ to believe, that after Consecration nothing remains but the Body
 “ and Blood of Christ our Lord, and he therefore said, *this is my*
 “ *Flesh for the Life of the World*; and to say what is still more
 “ wonderful, no other Flesh than that, which was born of the
 “ Virgin *Mary*, which suffered on the Cross, and rose from the
 “ Grave. This the whole World holds and confesses, and no Man
 “ openly contradicts.”

On the other Hand *Johannes Scotus*, so called because a Native of *Johannes*
 of *Scotland* or *Ireland*, that Name being then common to those of *Scotus*.
 both Nations, held the quite contrary Opinion. He came into
France about the Beginning of the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, that
 is, about the Year 829, and having soon gained great Reputation there
 by his Erudition and Learning, he was distinguished with an honour-
 able Place in the University of *Paris*, and consulted by the King
 concerning the Eucharist. For it was by the King's express Order
 that he wrote the Treatise of *the Body and Blood of our Lord*,
 wherein he as plainly impugned the real Presence as the other main-
 tained it, declaring, that *the Body of our Lord is by the Faithful*
received figuratively, mystically, sacramentally, spiritually, and not
really or corporally. That Treatise he published under the feigned
 Name of *Bertram*, which induced *Sigebert* and *Trithemius* to ascribe
 it to *Ratram*, a Monk of *Corby*, who flourished at this Time, and
 wrote by Order of *Charles the Bald* Two Books upon Predestination.
 For in the Disputes that arose in after Days about the Eucharist, the
 Treatise in Question is constantly quoted as the Work, not of *Bertram*
 or *Ratram*, but of *Scotus*, and no Mention is ever made of any Writer
 upon that Subject under either of those Names. *Scotus* having taught
 some

Year of
Christ 1050.

some Doctrines in *France* displeasing to *Rome*, Pope *Nicholas* complained of him to the King; and he thereupon left *France*, and came into *England* in the Reign of King *Alfred*. Being employed here to instruct the Youth, it is said that at *Malmsbury* the Boys committed to his Care stabbed him to Death with their Penknives. Thus *William of Malmsbury* ^t. But he speaks doubtfully of what he relates, as if it had no better Foundation than a Report or Tradition; *ut fertur*, says he, and all the rest have copied the Story from him.

His Treatise
on the Eu-
charist.

That Christ is present in the Eucharist was the ancient Doctrine and Belief of the Catholic Church. But as to the Manner of his Presence, *Paschasius* was the first, who explained it in the Terms which I have mentioned above, as is owned by the learned *Sirmundus*, and many other Roman Catholic Writers ^u. Till that Monk's Time all had understood our Saviour calling the Elements of Bread and Wine his *Body* and *Blood*, as they had understood him calling himself the *Shepherd*, the *Vine*, the *Way*, the *Truth*, the *Bread* that came from Heaven, &c. that is, in a figurative Sense, as has been proved by many Protestant Writers with innumerable Passages out of the Fathers. This new Doctrine gave great Offence to the *Gallican* Church; and it was on that Occasion that *Charles the Bald* put the following Question to *Scotus*, and desired him to solve it; *Whether the Body and Blood of Christ be mysteriously received by the Faithful in the Eucharist, or in Truth, and whether it be the same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that suffered on the Cross, that rose from the Dead, ascended into Heaven, and sits at the right Hand of the Father?* In Answer to that Question *Scotus* wrote his Treatise *on the Body and Blood of Christ*, wherein he maintained the Bread and the Wine in the Eucharist to be only the Sign, Figure, Type, or Image of Christ's Body and Blood. *Scotus* had his Followers, and so had *Paschasius*; and both pleaded Antiquity and the Authority of the Fathers, plainly establishing the Reality of Christ's Presence, according to one Party, and plainly denying it, according to the other. However, the Opinion of *Paschasius*, as vesting in the Priesthood a most extraordinary Power, that of *making the God that made them*, prevailed in the End. For when *Berengarius* revived, about 200 Years after, the Opinion of *Scotus*, it was combated as a *new Doctrine* by almost all Men of any Learning or

^t *Malmsb. de reg. l. ii. c. 4.*
lance, p. 74.

^u See *Usher's Answer to the Jesuits Chal-*

Knowledge in *France* and in *Italy*. Among these *Adelman* of *Liege*, who had been his School-fellow, and was afterwards preferred, for his Learning, to the See of *Brescia*, no sooner heard of his holding and propagating an Opinion, repugnant, as he said, to the Belief of the Church, than he wrote a long Letter to him, exhorting him to walk in the beaten Path, and not disturb, with new Opinions, the Peace of the Church; that is, blindly to believe what others believed, and sacrifice Truth to the Peace of the Church. In the same Letter he undertook to prove, that in the Eucharist Christ was truly and substantially present^w. Many others, and some of them the ablest Men of that Age, engaged in the same Dispute, all declaring for the *real* and *corporeal* Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, a Mystery, they said, which all were to believe, though none could explain it. Among the rest *Lanfranc*, who taught then in the public Schools at *Bec* in *Normandy*, censured the Opinion, denying or questioning the *Reality* of Christ's Body in the Eucharist, as repugnant to the Belief of the Church and the Fathers. Of this *Berengarius* was no sooner informed, than he wrote to *Lanfranc* the following Letter. " My Brother, You hold as heretical the
 " Sentiments of *Johannes Scotus* concerning the Sacrament of the
 " Altar, as disagreeing with those of *Paschasius*, which you receive.
 " If that be true, you have, my Brother, decided too hastily, and
 " acted in a manner unworthy of a Man of your Talents. You
 " have not studied the holy Scripture with those, who are the best
 " versed in it. I should therefore be glad, unlearned as I am, to
 " reason with you upon that Subject in the Presence of such Judges
 " or Hearers as you shall think fit. Till that happens despise not
 " what I say, *viz.* that if you hold *John*, whose Sentiments concerning the Eucharist I adopt, for a Heretic, you must likewise
 " hold *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerom*, and *St. Austin* for Heretics, not to
 " mention the rest of the Fathers."

The Messenger, whom *Berengarius* sent with this Letter, not finding *Lanfranc* in *Normandy*, for he was gone to *Rome*, delivered it to some Clerks, who read it, and gave it to others to read. And thus was the Doctrine it contained made public, and *Lanfranc*, to whom it was addressed, suspected of approving the Sentiments of his Friend. The Letter was even sent to *Rome*, and after being perused

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Letter of
Berengarius
to Lan-
franc.

The Letter
sent to
Rome.

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And the Do-
ctrine it con-
tained con-
demned at
Rome;

by many of the *Roman* Clergy, shewn to the Pope, who ordered it to be read in the Council that had been assembled for the Canonization of the Bishop *Gerard*, as has been said above, and was still sitting. The Fathers of the Council, upon hearing it read, pronounced at once the Doctrine heretical, repugnant to the Belief of the whole Catholic Church, and inconsistent with that of the Scriptures and Fathers. At the same time the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out against *Berengarius*, and all, who should countenance either him or his Doctrine. As *Lanfranc*, to whom the Letter was written, happened to be present at the Council, the Pope ordered him to make a public Confession of his Faith, especially with respect to the Article of the Eucharist, that no Room might be left for the least Suspicion of his approving the same Doctrine. *Lanfranc*, in Compliance with the Pope's Order, rose up, declared his Belief, and explained it to the full Satisfaction of the Pope and all who were present. The Pope, before he dismissed the Bishops, who assisted at the Council, appointed another to meet at *Vercelli* in the Month of *September* of the present Year 1050, and invited them to it *. Thus was *Berengarius*, with the utmost Injustice, condemned without being heard, or so much as summoned to the Council that condemned him, and for disapproving a Doctrine, which, how generally soever received, had not yet been defined, or proposed by the Church as an Article of the Catholic Faith.

and in Nor-
mandy.

Berengarius, informed of what had passed in the Council of *Rome*, withdrew into *Normandy*, and being there kindly received by *Ansfred*, Abbot of *Preaux*, he endeavoured to gain *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, over to his Party. But that Prince, though then but a Youth, suspending his Judgment, ordered a Conference to be held at *Brienne*, consisting of all the Prelates and learned Men in the Country; and by all the *new Doctrine*, as they styled it, was, with one Voice, condemned and rejected †. *Berengarius* therefore, leaving *Normandy*, retired to *Chartres*, but there kept his Opinion to himself, telling those, who were desirous to know it, that he would acquaint them with it at a more proper Season, that is, when he should have convinced the Pope of the Truth of his Doctrine, which he did not despair of effecting at the Council appointed to meet at *Vercelli*. In the mean time he wrote a Letter, strongly

* *Lanfranc* in *Comment. contra Bereng. Herman. Contract. Troarn, de Corpore et Sang. Christi.*

† *Durand.*

reflecting

reflecting on the Conduct of the Pope, condemning him as a Heretic, and cutting him off from the Communion of the Church, without hearing what he had to offer in Defence of his Doctrine. This Letter has not reached our Times, but *Durandus*, Abbot of *Troarn*, who read it, tells us, that the *Roman* Church, and the holy Pope *Leo*, Head of the Church Universal, were there taxed with Herefy, and blasphemously called Heretics ².

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The Council of *Vercelli* met at the Time appointed, in the Beginning of *September* of the present Year 1050. It was composed of Bishops from different Countries, especially from *France*, and *Germany*, and of most of the learned Men then in the West. The Pope presided in Person, and such of the Nobility, as chose it, were allowed to be present. To this Council *Berengarius* had been summoned at the breaking up of the Council of *Rome*. But not thinking it safe for him to comply with that Summons, he appointed Two Clerks, his Disciples, to maintain his and their Doctrine in his room. *Lanfranc*, who was present, informs us, in a very few Words, of what was transacted in that Assembly. The Book of *Johannes Scotus*, says he, was read and condemned, and the Two Clerks, sent by *Berengarius* to maintain his Doctrine, confounded and silenced ^a. The Doctrine of *Berengarius* was the same with that of *Scotus*, and the Council by condemning *Scotus* condemned *Berengarius*.

Council of
Vercelli con-
demns the
Doctrine of
Berengarius.

The Opinion of *Scotus* being thus condemned, *Anelin*, Monk of *St. Evrou* in *Normandy*, wrote to *Berengarius*, with whom he had formerly had a Conference about the Doctrine in Dispute, exhorting him to condemn an Opinion, that was maintained by One Man, but condemned by Two full Councils. He declared in that Letter, that he firmly believed the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist to be changed, by the Ministry of the Priest, into the real Body and real Blood of our Lord, it being impossible, he said, to understand the Words of our Saviour in any other Sense, than that he held in his Hands and gave them to eat of the very Body, which was sitting at Table with them; that such an Opinion was neither contrary to the Laws of Nature, which depended upon the Will of the Author of Nature, nor to any Thing revealed in the Gospel; that he would therefore ever adhere to the Doctrine of *Paschasius*, and believe with him, and the Catholic Church, that the Faithful receive the

Anelin's
Letter to
Berengarius.

^a Durand. *ibid.* part ix. p. 106.

^a Lanf. in Comment. contra Bereng.

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of true and real Body and Blood of Christ under the Appearance of
 1050. Bread and of Wine ^b. In Answer to this, and many other Letters
 of the same Kind from others, *Berengarius* appealed to the Fathers,
 especially to St. *Ambrose*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Jerom*, who had held,
 as he said he was ready to prove, the very Doctrine, that *Scotus* had
 taught; and from thence he concluded *Paschasius*, and not *Scotus*,
 to have introduced a new Doctrine.

As this Dispute made a great Noise in *France*, the King, *Henry I.*
 summoned all the Bishops and learned Men of his Kingdom to meet
 at *Paris*, on the Sixteenth of *October* 1050, in order to examine it
 and *Berengarius* among the rest. But as he did not appear, *Isam-*
bardus, Bishop of *Orleans*, produced a Letter, which he had written
 to one named *Paul*, and the Bishop had intercepted. This Letter
 being read in the Council, the Bishops with one Voice pronounced
 the Doctrine it contained heretical. For in that Letter *Berengarius*
 had opened his Mind to his Friend, without Reserve, condemning,
 in plain Terms, the Opinion of *Paschasius* as repugnant, and ex-
 tolling that of *Scotus* as entirely agreeable to the Belief of the Church
 in the primitive Times, and the Doctrine of the Fathers. At the
 same Time the Book of *Scotus*, whom they stiled the Author of the
New Heresy, was condemned; and it was enacted, that *Berengari-*
us and his Followers should be sought for, should be apprehended,
 and where-ever found even put to Death, if they did not publicly
 retract their impious Doctrine ^c. Who can but admire the Christian
 Spirit of those good Bishops! This Decree sufficiently justified the
 Conduct of *Berengarius* in not venturing to appear at that Council.
 Of this cruel and unjust Sentence he complained in a Letter to an
 Abbot named *Richardus*, One of the King's chief Favourites, en-
 treating him to undeceive that Prince, whom the Enemies of Truth
 had found Means to prejudice so strongly against him, and let him
 know, that he was ready to defend, in his Presence, the Doctrine,
 that had been so rashly condemned by the Bishops of his Kingdom.
 He added, that the King ought to be informed, that *Scotus* wrote his
 Book, at the Request of *Charles the Great* (meaning *Charles the*
Bald, who was sometimes distinguished with the Title of *Great*) in
 order to undeceive the Ignorant, and confute the many gross Er-
 rors, relating to the Eucharist, that had been introduced, chiefly by

^b Dacher. in Not. ad Vit. Lanfran.

^c Dunrand. Abbot. Trearn, par. ix.

Paschasius, into the Church; and that so deserving a Man should, on that Account, be protected after his Death by the Successors of the Prince, in Obedience to whose Commands he had undertaken so useful a Work ^d. But the Monk either did not apply to the King, or his Application proved ineffectual.

That the Doctrine of Christ's real Presence in the Eucharist was utterly unknown to the *English* Church, and consequently was not *held and confessed by the whole World*, as was boldly asserted by *Paschasius*, undeniably appears from an antient *Saxon* Sermon or Homily, appointed to be read in the Churches of *England* on Easter-Day. It is supposed by some to have been written by *Ælfric*, who succeeded *Sigeric* in the See of *Canterbury* about the Year 995, but by others ascribed to *Ælfrick* the younger raised to the See of *Tork* in 1028. It is still in Manuscript in the public Library at *Oxford*, and in that of *Bennet* College in *Cambridge*, has been long ago published in the *Saxon* with an *English* Translation, and since by the learned *Wheelock*, both in *Saxon* and in *Latin*, in his Edition of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* ^e. I shall transcribe here out of that invaluable Piece some Passages, that will put it out of all Doubt, that in the latter End of the Tenth, or in the Beginning of the Eleventh Century, the Doctrine of Christ's real or corporal Presence in the Eucharist was not the Doctrine of the *English* Church. The Homily begins thus:

“ Men beloved, you have been often discoursed to concerning
“ our Saviour's Resurrection, &c. Now we shall, by God's Grace,
“ explain something to you about the holy Eucharist, which this
“ Day we are bound to frequent, and instruct your Understandings
“ about this Mystery, both according to the Old and New Testament,
“ that no Doubt may disturb you concerning this Life-giving Ban-
“ quet. — Christ before his Suffering consecrated Bread, and dis-
“ tributed it to his Disciples, saying, *eat this Bread, it is my Body,*
“ *and do this in Remembrance of me.* He likewise consecrated
“ Wine in a Cup, and said, *drink ye all of this, this is my Blood,*
“ *which is shed for many for the Remission of Sins.* The Apostles
“ did as Christ commanded, they consecrated Bread and Wine for
“ the Eucharist—Now Men have often disputed, and still do dis-

^d Dacher. Specileg. tom. ii. et Concil. tom. ix. p. 1062.
p. 462.

^e Bed. Eccl. Hist.

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“pute, how that Bread, which is prepared of Corn, can be changed
 “into Christ’s Body, and how that Wine, by any Blessing of it,
 “can be changed into Christ’s Blood? To such Men I answer, that
 “some Things are spoken of Christ by *Signification*, some others
 “by a *known Thing*. It is a true Thing and known, that Christ
 “was born of a Virgin, that he voluntarily suffered Death, was
 “buried, and this Day rose from the Dead. He is called Bread,
 “and a Lamb, and a Lion by *Signification*. He is called *Bread*,
 “because he is our Life, a *Lamb* for his Innocence, a *Lion* for his
 “Strength. Yet according to true Nature Christ is neither Bread,
 “nor a Lamb, nor a Lion. Why then is the holy Eucharist called,
 “Christ’s Body, or his Blood, if it be not truly what it is called?
 “Truly the Bread and Wine, which are consecrated, shew one
 “Thing outwardly to Mens Senses, and another Thing they de-
 “clare inwardly to believing Minds. Outwardly Bread and Wine
 “are seen both in Appearance and in Taste; yet they are truly, after
 “Consecration, Christ’s Body and Blood by a *spiritual Sacrament*.
 “So the holy Font-water, called the Well-spring of Life, is like in
 “Nature to other Waters, and is subject to Corruption; but the
 “Power of the Holy Ghost, by the Priest’s Blessing, comes upon that
 “corruptible Water; and after that it can wash both Body and Soul
 “from all Sin by spiritual Virtue. We see now Two Things in this
 “One Creature; that, whereby it is, according to Nature, cor-
 “ruptible Water, and that, whereby it has, according to the spi-
 “ritual Mystery, a saving Power. In like Manner, if we look upon
 “the holy Eucharist according to a corporal Sense, we see that it is
 “a Creature corruptible and changeable. But if we own a spiri-
 “tual Power therein, then we understand that Life is in it, and that
 “it confers Immortality on those, who taste it by Faith. There is
 “much Difference between the invisible Power of the holy Eucha-
 “rist, and the visible Appearance of its proper Nature. By Nature
 “it is corruptible Bread, and corruptible Wine, but by Virtue of
 “the divine Word, it is *truly* the Body and Blood of Christ, *yet*
 “*not corporally so, but spiritually*. There is a great Difference be-
 “tween the Body that Christ suffered in, and that Body, which is
 “consecrated for the Eucharist. The Body, that Christ suffered in,
 “was born of the Flesh of *Mary*, with Blood and Bones, with Skin
 “and Nerves, animated with a rational Spirit in human Members.
 “But his spiritual Body, which we call the Eucharist, is collected
 “from

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“ from many Grains of Corn, without Blood and Bone, without
 “ Member or Soul: *and therefore there is nothing in it to be un-*
 “ *derstood corporally, but all is to be understood spiritually.*—
 “ This Sacrament is a *Pledge* and a *Type*, the Body of Christ is the
 “ Truth. We keep the *Pledge* sacramentally till we come to the
 “ Truth itself; and then is the Pledge at an End. *It is indeed*
 “ *Christ's Body and his Blood, not corporally but spiritually.* Do
 “ not dispute how this can be effected, but believe it firmly.—
 “ *Paul*, the Apostle, speaking of the *Israelites*, says, *they all drank*
 “ *of the spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ.* That Rock
 “ was not Christ in a corporal Sense, but it signified Christ.—The
 “ heavenly Food, that fed them for Forty Years, and the Water,
 “ that flowed from the Rock, signified Christ's Body and Blood,
 “ which are now daily offered in the Church. It was the same
 “ which we offer to Day, *not corporally, but spiritually.* Christ
 “ consecrated Bread and Wine for the Eucharist, and said, this is
 “ my Body and Blood; he had not yet suffered, and yet he changed
 “ the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood, as he did
 “ before in the Wilderness, when he changed the heavenly Food
 “ into his Flesh, and the Water flowing from the Rock into his
 “ Blood.—They saw, that the heavenly Food was visible and cor-
 “ ruptible; but they understood that Thing *spiritually.* *Jesus*
 “ said, *whoever eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath*
 “ *eternal Life. He did not command them to eat that Body,*
 “ *which he had assumed, nor to drink that Blood, which he shed for*
 “ *us; but by that Speech he meant the holy Eucharist, which is*
 “ *spiritually his Body and his Blood.*”

We have two other Pieces written by *Ælfric*, that contain the very same Doctrine; the one an Epistle to *Wulfine*, Bishop of *Shirburne*, where he speaks thus: “ The Eucharist is not the Body of
 “ Christ corporally, but spiritually; not the Body in which he suf-
 “ fered, but the Body of which he spoke when he blessed Bread and
 “ Wine for the Eucharist, saying, *this is my Body, &c.*” The
 other is an Epistle to *Wulfane*, Archbishop of *York*; and he there expresses himself, with respect to the Eucharist, in the follow-
 ing Terms: “ Christ himself consecrated the Eucharist before his
 “ Passion; he blessed Bread and broke it, saying, *eat this Bread,*
 “ *it is my Body:* and again he blessed the Cup, saying, *drink ye all*
 “ *of this, it is my Blood of the new Testament, which is shed for*
 “ *many*

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" many for the Remission of Sins. The Lord, who consecrated the Eucharist before his Passion, and said that Bread was his Body and Wine truly his Blood, daily consecrates, by the Priest's Hands, Bread for his Body, and Wine for his Blood, in a spiritual Mystery. However, that Life-giving Bread is not the same Body, in which Christ suffered, nor that holy Wine the Blood of our Saviour, that was shed for us, in bodily Thing, but in a spiritual Sense. That Bread indeed was his Body, and that Wine his Blood, just as that heavenly Bread, which we call Manna, was his Body, and the clear Water, that flowed from the Rock in the Wilderness, was his Blood. The Apostle, who says they all did eat, &c. does not say corporally, but spiritually."

Some Observations on the foregoing Doctrine.

I shall conclude on this Head with a few Observations. And 1. The Doctrine, denying Christ's *real* or *corporeal* Presence in the Eucharist, is here asserted in such plain Terms, as leave not the least room to question the Meaning of the Writer. 2. As the Sermon, containing that Doctrine, was appointed to be read on Easter-day, for the Instruction of the Faithful, before they received the Eucharist, it was not the private Opinion of *Ælfric*, but the Doctrine of the *English* Church. 3. The same Doctrine must have been once taught by the *Roman* Church, since the *English* Church was instructed in the chief Mysteries of the Christian Religion by the *Roman*. 4. What *Paschasius* wrote, *viz.* that *no Man openly contradicted his Doctrine*, was certainly true, as no Man had ever heard of it till he published his famous Treatise. But it was no sooner known than contradicted by some of the most learned Men of that Age, and among the rest by *Raban* Archbishop of *Mentz*, as appears from an Epistle of his to *Heribald*, wherein he speaks thus, alluding, no Doubt, to the Treatise of *Paschasius*; " Some of late, not thinking rightly of the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood, have said, that the very Body and Blood of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and in which he suffered on the Cross, and rose again out of the Grave, is the same that is taken at the Altar, which *Error* we have opposed as we are able &c". Lastly, From what has been said it is evident, that the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Eucharist was, so late as the Ninth

^f Not. ad Bed. p. 332, 333, 334. & Usher's Answer to the Jesuits, p. 79. ^g Baluz. in Append. ad Reginon. p. 516.

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Century, unknown to the *English* Church, and even looked upon, as an *Error* by some of the most learned Men of that Age, and consequently, that it was not taught, from the earliest times, by the Catholic Church. And now to return from this Digression to *Leo*.

Year of
Christ 1050.

From *Vercelli* the Pope, instead of returning to *Rome* after the Council, paid a second Visit to his Flock at *Toul*, for he never resigned that Bishopric, and there translated with great Pomp and Solemnity the Body of *St. Gerard*, whom he had lately canonized. He was still in that City on the 30th of *October*, as appears from a Charter granted at *Toul*, bearing that Date^h. But he kept the Feast of the Purification at *Augsburg* with the Emperor, and from thence returning to *Rome* held a Council soon after Easter, in which he excommunicated *Gregory* Bishop of *Vercelli* for committing Adultery with a Widow betrothed to his Uncle. The Bishop was absent when this Sentence was given, but he flew to *Rome* as soon as he heard of it; and upon his promising to perform the Penance, that his Holiness imposed upon him, he was absolved from the Excommunication, and restored to the Functions of his Office. On that Occasion the Canons issued by other Councils against the Incontinence of the Clergy were confirmed, some new ones were added to them, and in order to check more effectually the scandalous Irregularities of the *Roman* Clergy in particular, it was decreed, at the Request of the Pope, that all Women, who should, for the future, prostitute themselves to Priests within the Walls of *Rome*, should be condemned to serve as Slaves in the *Lateran* Palaceⁱ.

Council of
Rome.
Year of
Christ 1051.

It was probably in this Council that the Pope absolved *Edward the Confessor* from a Vow he had made to visit the holy Places at *Rome*. The King shewed a great Inclination to undertake that Pilgrimage, the visiting the Tombs of the Apostles being still in Reputation, and thought highly meritorious. But his Council, apprehending the evil Consequences of his being absent at a Time when the State was divided into opposite Parties, as it happened then, persuaded him to send a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with the Vow he had made, and laying before him the Evils that would inevitably attend his performing such a Journey, to beg his Holiness would absolve him from it. The Embassadors were kindly

The Pope absolves
Edward the
Confessor
from a Vow.

^h Wibert in Vit.
aibert.

ⁱ Herman. ad an. 1051. Petrus Damian. in ep. ad Cu-

Year of
Christ 1051.

received by the Pope, and he very readily granted their Request, but upon Condition, that the King bestowed upon the Poor the Money, which he had reserved to defray the Expences of his Journey, and besides, either repaired or built anew and enlarged the Monastery, dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles St. *Peter*. The King, in Compliance with these Terms, immediately undertook the rebuilding of St. *Peter's* at *Westminster*; which Work was completed, and the new Church consecrated, on the 28th of *December* 1065.^k

He returns
to Germany.

Upon the breaking up of this Council, the Pope took a third Journey into *Germany*, to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and *Andrew*, King of *Hungary*, refusing to pay the Tribute that his Predecessors had annually paid to the Emperor, as a Token of their Subjection to the Empire. The Emperor had thereupon besieged a Strong-hold, called *Berziburg*, that belonged to the King, who apprehending he would reduce it, and open himself a Way into the Heart of his Kingdom; wrote to the Pope, offering to pay the usual Tribute, and begging his Holiness to interpose with the Emperor in his Behalf. *Leo* complied with his Request, and having other Affairs to transact with the Emperor, he had no sooner dismissed the Council, than he set out for *Germany*. But the vigorous Resistance, which the Emperor met with from the Garrison of *Berziburg*, having, in the mean time, obliged him to raise the Siege, the King would no longer stand to the Terms, which the Pope had proposed, at his Desire, to the Emperor. *Leo*, highly provoked at the Conduct of the King, threatened him with Excommunication^l; but what was the Issue of that Affair History does not inform us.

Canonizes
Two Saints
at Ratisbon.
Year of
Christ 1052.

The following Year 1052 *Leo* being still in *Germany*, canonized at *Ratisbon* Two Bishops of that City, viz. *Wolfgangus*, who was made Bishop in 972, and died on the 21st of *October* 994, and *Erhard*, who governed the same Church with great Reputation of Sanctity, and was believed to have wrought many Miracles in his Life-time and after his Death^m. From *Ratisbon* the Pope went to meet the Emperor at *Worms*, and there they both celebrated the Christmas Festival. It was in that City, and in the present Year 1052, that *Leo* exchanged the Bishopric of *Bamberg*, the Monastery of *Fulda*, and several other Places, for the City of *Beneventum* in

^k Concil. tom. ix. p. 1186.
Benedict V. Bolland ad diem 8 Jan.

^l Herman. ad an. 1051.

^m Mabil. Sec.

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Apulia ⁿ. But this Exchange did not take place till the Year 1076. ^{Year of Christ 1052.}
A late Historian supposes the whole Principality of *Beneventum*, comprising at this time several Provinces, and many great Cities, to have been yielded to the Pope ^o. But *Leo Ostiensis*, the most antient Writer who mentions this Exchange, and *Petrus Diaconus*, who wrote soon after him ^p, say in express Terms, that the Emperor gave the City of *Beneventum* in Exchange for the Bishopric of *Bamberg*, and no Man can think, that if he had given the whole Principality, as well as the City, they would only have mentioned the City.

The following Year 1053 the Pope, having celebrated the Festival of the Purification at *Augsburg*, set out from thence on his Return to *Italy*, and arriving at *Mantua* about Shrove-Sunday, assembled a Council in that City. But the Domestics of the Bishops quarrelling, at the Instigation of their Masters, with those of the Pope's Retinue, raised such Disturbances, as obliged the Pope to dismiss the Assembly, after he had attempted in vain, and not without endangering his Life, to appease the Tumult. For thinking the Rioters would be awed by his Presence, he quitted his Seat in the Council, and shewed himself at the Church Doors in his Pontifical Robes. But they still continued to pursue his Servants with Showers of Darts and Stones, that flew thick about the Pope himself, and even wounded one of his Domestics, who had taken Shelter under his Mantle. Thus did the Bishops prevent the Pope from enquiring into their Conduct, which they knew would deservedly draw upon them the severest Censures. The Authors of these Disturbances were discovered the next Day; but the Pope forgave them, lest he should be thought, as the Affront was offered to him, to have been actuated, in punishing them, with the Spirit of Revenge ^q. I have observed elsewhere, that at *Mantua* was kept a Sponge, steeped, as was believed, in the Blood of our Saviour ^r. That Relique the Pope attempted to carry with him to *Rome*: But the whole City taking the Alarm, he was obliged to content himself with a small Portion of the holy Sponge, which he deposited in the *Lateran* Church, where it is shewn to this Day ^s.

ⁿ Herman. ad an. 1053. Leo Ostien. l. ii. c. 84.

Neap. l. ix.

c. 84.

p. 173.

^p Leo Ostiens. ubi supra. & Petr. Diacon. ad Ostiens. l. ii.

^q Herman. Wibert. in Vit. Leon. l. ii. c. 8.

^r See Vol. iv. Hyppolit. Donesmund. Hist. Mant. l. iii. p. 203.

^o Giannetas. Hist.

^s See Vol. iv.

Year of
Christ 1053.
Council of
Rome.

Leo returned to Rome in the Beginning of Lent, and in a Council, which was held there after Easter, he declared *Dominic* of *Grado* Metropolitan or Primate of the Provinces of *Venetia* and *Istria* gave him the Pall, subjected all the Bishops of those Two Provinces to his See, and confined to *Lombardy* the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Friuli*, who had long disputed the Metropolitan Dignity with the Bishop of *Grado*. The Patriarchal See was transferred from *Aquileia* to *Grado* in 579; which City was therefore called *New Aquileia*, and in 1450 it was removed from *Grado* to *Venice*.

Some Opini-
ons of the
Greeks con-
demned.

It was, probably, in this Council, that the Pope condemned the Opinion of the *Greeks*, teaching, that the Eucharist ought to be administered with leavened Bread, which alone they pretended to be true Bread, and therefore censured the *Roman* Church, as deviating from the Practice, introduced by our Saviour himself, in solemnizing that Sacrament with unleavened Bread. That was the Subject of a Letter, written by *Michael Cerularius*, at this Time Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Leo* Metropolitan of *Achris* in *Bulgaria*, to *John* Bishop of *Trani* in *Apulia*. *John* shewed the Letter to *Humbertus*, Bishop of the *White Forest*, who translated it into *Latin*, and communicated it to the Pope. *Leo*, finding the *Roman* Church strongly attacked in that Piece, and arraigned of adopting both Doctrines and Practices inconsistent with those of the primitive Church, wrote a long Answer to it, reproaching the *Greeks*, especially the Bishops of *Constantinople*, with the many Heresies they had taught or countenanced, and extolling the *Roman* Church, as having been instructed by *St. Peter* himself, and ever preserved by him free from all Heresy. He speaks of the famous Donation of *Constantine*, long since universally exploded, as a Thing that in his Time no Man questioned; blames the *Greeks* for admitting Eunuchs even to the Episcopal Dignity; and supposes the Report of a Woman having been promoted to the Patriarchal See of the Imperial City, to have been owing to that Report, which, however, he says, he cannot believe. In the End of his Letter, he tells the Patriarch and the Bishop of *Achris*, for to them his Letter was addressed, that he had sent some Passages out of the Fathers to the Bishops of *Apulia*, as an Antidote against the Venom, with which they were striving to poison their

See Vol. ii. of this Hist. p. 448.

Minds u. But the Practice that *Leo* condemned, viz. that of consecrating in leavened Bread, is now thought, even by many learned Divines of the Church of *Rome*, to have been the Practice of the whole Primitive Church w. Our Saviour, it is true, celebrated his last Supper with unleavened Bread, but that was, as those Writers observe, at the Time of the Passover, when no other Bread could be used (A).

Year of
Christ 1053.

As *Michael Cerularius*, the present Patriarch, was the first who reproached the *Roman* Church with the Use of unleavened Bread, and wrote against it to the Bishops, who were subject to his See in *Italy*, some conclude from thence that Custom to have been adopted by the *Roman* Church about this Time. It did not, at least, prevail in the Time of *Photius*, else he would have taken Notice of it, as he did of every other Rite or Practice, wherein the *Roman* Church differed from that of *Constantinople*, and the other Churches in the East.

We have hitherto seen this good Pope exerting his Zeal, as Sovereign Pontiff, and not unsuccessfully, in reforming the many Abuses that prevailed in the Church, and assembling for that Purpose frequent Councils in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*. We shall now view him acting in a very different Capacity, that of a Commander, heading an Army, and leading it in Person, not against the Infidels, as Two of his Predecessors had done, but against a Christian People, remarkable for their Piety and Religion; not in Defence of the

The Pope
makes War
upon the
Normans.

* Wibert. in Vit. Leon. l. ii. c. 9. * Bona Rer. Liturg. l. i. c. 23. Schellstrat. Disciplin. Arcanic. c. 7. Pagi. Critic. Baron. ad ann. 313. n. 15.

(A) That the Church has always used common Bread they prove with the following Reasons: 1. Because the Bread and Wine for the Use of the Eucharist were taken out of the Oblations of the People, who, no Doubt, offered common Bread and Wine, so long as they continued to make Oblations. 2. *Epiphanius*, speaking of the *Ebionites*, takes Notice of their consecrating in unleavened Bread and Water only, as a peculiar Rite of those Heretics (1); which plainly shews, that they did not use the same Bread as was used by the Church. 3. The Antients all

speak of the Bread for the Eucharist as common Bread, such as they used upon other Occasions (2); and that such it really was, appears from a Story we read in the Life of *Gregory the Great*, of a Woman, who smiling when he administered the Eucharist to her with the usual Words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy Soul*, and being asked why she smiled, answered, because he called the Bread, which she had made with her own Hands, the Body of Christ (3). It was therefore common Bread.

(1) Epiph. Hæres. 30. Vit. l. ii. c. 41.

(2) Ambros. de Sacram. l. iv. c. 4.

(3) Greg.

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Christ 1053.

Faith, but of the temporal Dominions and Wealth of the Church. The People, upon whom he made War, were the *Normans*, who coming from that Part of *Neustria*, which from them was called *Normandy*, had established themselves, by their Valour, in *Apulia*, and gave great Umbrage to the Pope, by the Acquisitions they made in that Country. Of their first coming into *Italy*, and their warlike Exploits there, we read the following Account in *Guillelmus Apulienfis*, who wrote it in Verse, but more like an Historian than a Poet, and published it at the Request of Pope *Urban II.* preferred to the Pontificate in 1088. That small Piece containing a succinct Relation of the Adventures of the *Normans*, from their Arrival in *Italy* in 1016, to the Death of the famous *Robert Guiscard* in 1085, is inscribed to *Roger*, the Son and Successor of *Robert*. The Substance of that Relation is as follows :

On what Oc-
casion the
Normans
came first in-
to Italy.

One *Melus*, a Man of great Power and Authority in the City of *Bari* in *Apulia*, not able to bear with the tyrannical Government of the *Greeks*, to whom that City was subject, conspired with several of his Fellow-Citizens to drive them out, and rescue themselves and their Country from the Oppression they groaned under. But the Conspiracy being discovered before it was ripe for Execution, *Melus* made his Escape, first to *Ascoli*, and from thence to *Monte Gargano*. There he found some *Normans*, come from *Neustria*, their native Country, to visit that Sanctuary, according to the Devotion that was then in Vogue; and upon his learning who they were, he gave them an Account of himself, assuring them, that with a small Number of their Countrymen he would drive out the dastardly *Greeks*, and put their Nation in Possession of the most fertile Country of all *Italy*. There wanted no more for those bold Adventurers. They went home, and returned the next Year with a choice Band of their Countrymen, who, being supplied with Arms at *Rome*, marched from thence in a Body into *Apulia*, where *Melus* put himself at their Head. They had several Encounters with the *Greeks*, whom they always defeated. But in a Battle fought in 1019 near *Canne*, a Place famous for the Defeat of the *Romans*, the *Greeks* gained a complete Victory over them, cut most of them in Pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate Flight. In this Battle the *Normans* behaved with unparalleled Bravery. But the Troops that *Melus* had hired of the *Italian* Princes gave way, which occasioned the Rout. *Melus* finding his
Army

Are defeated
with great
Slaughter by
the Greeks.

Leo IX.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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Army greatly reduced by the Loss he had sustained, and no longer in a Condition to withstand the numerous Forces of the *Greeks*, recommended his *Normans* to *Pandulphus* Prince of *Capua*, and *Guaimarus* Prince of *Salerno*, and went himself into *Germany* to solicit Succours of the Emperor. *Benedict* VIII. then Pope, apprehending that the *Greeks*, if not timely opposed by a superior Force, would soon make themselves Masters of all *Italy*, undertook a Journey into *Germany*, for the same Purpose. But the Emperor, *Henry* I. could spare them no Troops at that Juncture, being engaged in other Wars, and in the mean time *Melus* died. His Death happened in 1021, while he was with the Emperor, who caused him to be buried in a Royal Manner, *ut regius est mos*, says the Historian, and attended his Funeral in Person.

Year of
Christ 1053.

The *Normans* chose, upon the Death of *Melus*, one of their own Countrymen, named *Ranulphus*, for their Leader, and under his Conduct distinguished themselves in the War, which the Emperor made, in the following Year 1022, upon the *Greeks* in *Italy*. But the Emperor being obliged to return to *Germany*, they kept in a Body, serving under the Banners of such of the *Italian* Princes as happened to engage them the first in the Wars they waged with each other. In 1028 they joined *Sergius* Duke of *Naples* against *Pandulphus* Prince of *Capua*, who had made himself Master of that City, drove him from it, after he had held it Three Years, and restored *Sergius*. To reward this important Service, *Sergius* granted some Lands in the Neighbourhood of *Naples* to *Ranulphus* and his *Normans*, with Leave to build a City in that Place for their Habitation, which might serve as a Barrier against the Princes of *Capua*, as it lay between that City and *Naples*. They built a City accordingly, and called it, if some Writers are to be credited, *Aversa*, to shew their Aversion to the Prince of *Capua*, by whom they had been very ill used, though they had served him with the greatest Fidelity. In 1038 they were prevailed upon by *Guaimarius*, Prince of *Salerno*, and their great Friend, to cross over into *Sicily*, and assist the *Greeks* against the *Saracens*, who had made themselves Masters of the greater Part of that Island; and it was chiefly by their Valour and Bravery that the *Greeks* recovered the City of *Syracuse*, and several other Places possessed by the *Saracens*. Upon their Return home, the Emperor *Conrad*, who had succeeded *Henry* I.

Serve under
the Emperor;

and under the
Italian Prin-
ces and the
Greek.

Build the Ci-
ty of Aversa.

Ranulphus
made Count
granted, of Aversa.

Year of
Christ 1053.

Ill used by the
Greeks, they
make them-
selves Ma-
sters of sever-
al Places be-
longing to
them in Apu-
lia.

granted, at the Request of the Prince of *Salerno*, the Title of Count to *Ranulphus*, and gave him the Investiture of that small County.

The *Greeks*, though indebted to the *Normans* for all the Advantages they had gained over the *Saracens*, had not allowed them the least Share of the Plunder, pretending they had acquired it, not by the Valour of the *Normans* but their own, nay they commanded *Arduinus*, a noble *Lombard*, who served with the *Normans*, to restore a fine Horse he had taken from a *Saracen*, whom he had killed, and ordered him, because he refused to comply with that unjust Command, to be ignominiously whipt round the Camp. To revenge this Affront the *Normans* resolved to fall upon the Dominions of the Eastern Empire in *Italy*, and establish themselves there at the Expence of the *Greeks*. They marched accordingly, soon after their Return from *Sicily*, against the City of *Melfi*, and being reinforced with great Numbers of new Adventurers from *Normandy*, they laid Siege to that Place, and in a very few Days obliged the Inhabitants to open their Gates, and receive them into their City. This same Year 1041 they made themselves Masters of *Venosa*, *Ascoli*, and *Lavelli*, and fortified the City of *Melfi*, strong by its Situation, with such Works as baffled all the Attempts the *Greek* Emperors afterwards made to recover it.

Gain several
remarkable
Victories over
the Greeks.

Constantine Monomachus, at this Time Emperor of the East, alarmed at the Conquests the *Normans* made with so much Rapidity in *Apulia*, sent a powerful Fleet and a very numerous Army into *Italy*, under the Command of *Duclius*, ordering him to give no Quarter to the *Normans*, but to extirpate the whole Race. But *Duclius*, though a brave and experienced Commander, had the Mortification to see Three numerous Armies, headed by him, put to the Rout by a Handful of *Normans*. The first Battle was fought near the *Olivento*, the other at *Canna*, and the third on the Banks of the *Ofanto*, and the *Normans*, though they had, in these Three Engagements, fresh Troops to encounter, made dreadful Havock of the Enemy, while the Loss was very inconsiderable on their Side. The Emperor, therefore, recalling *Duclius*, sent *Anno* with a new and more numerous Army than any of the other Three, to succeed him. But he was attended with no better Success than his Predecessor. For having engaged the *Normans* near *Monte Peloso*, his Army was almost intirely cut to Pieces, and he himself taken Prisoner.

The *Normans*, to avoid giving Umbrage to the neighbouring *Lombard* Princes, and to gain the Affections of their People, had hitherto chosen One of that Nation for their Leader in the Wars they waged with the *Greeks*. But being now under no Apprehension of the *Greeks* ever prevailing over them, they resolved to have no other Leader but One of their own Nation; and they accordingly put themselves under the Command of *William Bras-de-fer*, who had distinguished himself above all the rest in the late Engagements. He was the eldest Son of *Tancred of Hauteville*, and came into *Italy* soon after the building of the City of *Aversa*, with Two of his Brothers, viz. *Drago* and *Humbert* or *Umfred*, and several other *Normans*. As he was a Man of uncommon Strength, and thence called *Bras-de-fer*, or *Iron-arm*, of great Skill in War, and of Prudence equal to his Bravery, the *Normans* chose him for their Leader in 1043, distinguishing him, on that Occasion, with the Title of Count of *Apulia*, which was but an honorary Title. For they divided the whole Country into Twelve Counties, and appointed so many Counts over them, but left the City of *Melfi* common to all, and there they met to consult about the important Affairs of the Nation. *William*, the First Count of *Apulia*, called by *Guillelmus Apuliensis*, a Lion in Battle, and Lamb in Conversation, died in 1046, and his Brother *Drago*, to whose Share the City of *Venosa* had fallen in the abovementioned Division, was in an Assembly of the *Normans*, that met at *Melfi*, appointed Count of *Apulia* in his room. In *Drago's* Time many more *Normans*, leaving their native Country, came to try their Fortune in *Italy*, and among the rest *Robert*, surnamed afterwards *Guiscard*, Half-Brother to *Drago*, being *Tancred's* eldest Son by his Second Wife. *Drago*, knowing him to be a Man of great Resolution and Intrepidity, sent him, soon after his Arrival, with a chosen Body of Men against a Strong hold, possessed by the *Greeks*, on the Borders of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which he reduced, and made from thence frequent Incursions into *Calabria*, which still belonged to the *Greeks*.

The Conquests, made by the *Normans* in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, gave not the least Umbrage to the Emperors of the West, who wished to see the *Greeks* driven quite out of *Italy*, and only wanted the *Normans* to hold those Provinces of them as Fiefs of the Empire. To this the *Normans* readily agreed, and *Drago* was thereupon in 1046 invested by *Henry II.* who came that Year into *Italy*, in all the Countries,

Year of
Christ 1053.
Chuse William
Bras-de-fer
for their
Leader.

Divide Apu-
lia into
Twelve
Counties.

The Emperor
grants them
the Investi-
ture of the
Countries
they had
conquered.

Year of
Christ 1053.

Countries, that he and his *Normans* had taken from the *Greeks*. Thus were the *Normans* put upon the same Footing with the Princes or Dukes of *Benevento*, *Capua*, *Salerno*, and the other *Lombard* Princes, who acknowledged the Emperor, as King of the *Lombards*, for their Sovereign, and held, as Feudatories, their Dominions of him.

Snare laid
for them by
the Greek
Emperor.

In the mean time *Constantine Monomachus*, Emperor of the East, despairing of ever being able to recover, by Force, the Countries which the *Normans* had seized, resolved to employ other Means, which he flattered himself would prove more successful. He pretended to be upon the Point of undertaking an Expedition against the *Persians*, and under that Pretence sent One of his chief Officers, named *Argyrus*, with a great Sum of Money and many rich Presents, to engage the *Normans* to pass over into *Greece*, in order to serve under his Banner in that Undertaking. But they had already learned by Experience how little *Greek* Faith was to be relied on; and therefore rejected, with Scorn, the Emperor's Presents, and laughed at the great Promises that were made them in his Name.

The Apulians
bribed to con-
spire against
them.

Argyrus, finding they were aware of the Snare that was laid for them, resolved to employ the Treasure he had brought from *Constantinople*, for a still more wicked Purpose; which was to bribe several of the Citizens, in the different Cities of *Apulia* held by the *Normans*, to conspire against them, and rising at an appointed Time, murder them all without Distinction. This Conspiracy was carried on with the greatest Secrecy, and executed with such Barbarity, that the *Normans* are said to have lost, on this Occasion, a greater Number of their brave Countrymen, than they had done in all their Wars with the *Greeks*. They lost among the rest *Drago*, the Second Count of *Apulia*, who was stabbed, as he was going to Prayers in the Castle of *Montoglio*, by One of the Conspirators, who had concealed himself behind the Door of the Chapel. The other Conspirators fell upon those, who attended the Count, massacred such of them as had not the good Luck to make their Escape, and seized on the Castle. But *Umfred*, who was but at a small Distance, hearing of the barbarous Murder of his Brother, flew with a small Body of *Normans*, assembled in great Haste, to the Castle, and having made himself Master of it, in Spite of the vigorous Resistance he met with, he caused the Conspirators to be all put to most cruel Deaths. This Instance of Treachery and Barbarity in the *Greeks* provoked the *Nor-*

Many of
them mur-
dered and
Drago a-
mong the
rest.

mans

mans to such a Degree, that they resolved, by Way of Revenge, to drive them out of *Calabria* as well as *Apulia*^x. How they executed this Resolution, I shall relate in the Course of the present History, and in the mean time return to the Expedition of Pope *Leo* against that People, which gave Occasion to this Digression.

Year of
Christ 1053.

The *Normans*, finding that the *Apulians* were no more to be trusted than the *Greeks*, began from this Time forward to keep a watchful Eye over them, and to treat them with the Severity they deserved. Of this Treatment they complained first to the Emperor, and afterwards to the Pope, representing the Government of the *Normans* as cruel and tyrannical, charging them with many Crimes, and painting them as Barbarians, without either Laws or Religion. These Calumnies were all credited by the Pope, as appears from One of his Letters to *Constantine Monomachus* Emperor of the East, wherein he taxes the *Normans* with plundering and burning Churches and Monasteries, with racking and putting to Death, by the most exquisite Torments, such of the *Apulians* as gave them the least Offence, with extending their savage Fury even to Women and innocent Children, and turning the Countries, which they conquered, into Desarts y. No Wonder therefore that *Leo*, thus prejudiced against them, and at the same Time jealous of their growing Power, should have exerted all his Interest with both Emperors to get them driven out of *Italy*, with that View he took a Journey into *Germany* in 1052. But all he could obtain of the Emperor, engaged at that Juncture in other Wars, was a small Body of *German* Troops to keep the *Normans* in Awe, till he was at Leisure to march with his whole Army against them; which he promised to do as soon as he had settled his Affairs at Home.

The *Apulians*
prejudice the
Pope against
them, and
the Pope the
Emperor.

But the Pope, impatient to see *Italy* delivered from those public Robbers, as he stiled them, resolved to undertake so meritorious a Work himself. Having therefore, upon his Return to *Rome*, assembled a very numerous Army, he marched with all possible Expedition to the Borders of *Apulia*; not doubting but he should surprise the *Normans*, and make himself Master of the Country, before they could assemble their Forces and put themselves in a Posture of Defence. They were indeed not a little alarmed at the unexpected

The Pope
marches in
Person a-
gainst them.

^x Guill. Apul. l. i. et ii. Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 58, 65, 67, 72, 85.
Baron. ad ann. 1054.

^y Apud

Year of
Christ 1053.

Strive to di-
vert the
Pope from
the intended
War but in
vain.

They gain a
complete Vic-
tory.

Approach of so numerous an Army, and could scarce believe, that it had been raised, and was commanded by the Pope, to whom they were conscious to themselves they had never given the least Provocation. They therefore deputed some of the chief Men among them to wait on his Holiness, to learn what was his true Design; what he complained of, and to offer him, if he had taken any Thing amiss of them, all the Satisfaction he could wish for. The Pope received the Deputies with great Haughtiness, reproached them with cruelly oppressing the People they had conquered, with seizing and holding a Country, to which they had no Kind of Right, with trampling under Foot all Laws human and divine, &c. *Leo* added, that he was come with a powerful Army to rescue the unhappy Inhabitants of *Apulia* from the Yoke they groaned under; that he would allow the *Normans* to march unmolested out of *Italy*, but would grant them Quarter upon no other Terms. The Deputies strove to clear their Nation from the Crimes, with which they were charged; shewed the Necessity of treating the *Apulians*, who had treacherously murdered so many of their Countrymen, with the Severity they so loudly complained of; expressed the greatest Veneration and Respect for the Successor of *St. Peter*, and offered themselves ready to serve against the Enemies of the Apostolic See, when or wherever his Holiness should think fit to employ them. But as to their tamely quitting a Country, which they had purchased with the Blood of so many brave Men, it was a Condition they could not comply with, and were therefore unalterably determined to defend it to the last Drop of their Blood, and repel Force by Force, by whomsoever attacked.

With these Words the Deputies took Leave of the Pope, and returned to their Countrymen, who, finding that the Pope would hearken to no other Terms but those which they could not agree to, flew to Arms, and marching out, without Loss of Time, against the Enemy, under the Command of *Umfred* Count of *Apulia*, of *Richard* Count of *Aversa*, and of the brave *Robert Guiscard*, fell upon them with incredible Fury in the Neighbourhood of *Civitade*. The Count of *Aversa* put the *Italians* to Flight at the First Onset, and pursued them with great Slaughter. But the *Germans* withstood all the Efforts of Count *Umfred*, and many fell on both Sides. But *Robert*, who commanded a Body of Reserve, coming seasonably to the Assistance of his Brother, and falling Sword-in-hand upon the *Germans*, they were forced to give Ground, and betake themselves,

in

in the End, to a precipitate Flight. *Robert* pursued them so close, that not One of them escaped the Slaughter of that Day ².

Year of
Christ 1053.

The Pope, who beheld the Fight from a rising Ground at a small Distance, seeing his Army thus put to Flight, and the Flower of his Troops cut to Pieces, flew to *Civitade*, and there shut himself up with such of his Men as he had been able to stop in their Flight. But the Place was soon invested by the *Normans*, and forced to surrender at Discretion. The Pope, who looked upon the *Normans* as a barbarous People, expected to be treated by them, as their avowed Enemy, with the utmost Severity. But the Treatment he met with, was very different from that which he expected, and had Reason to expect. Count *Umsfred*, hearing that the Pope was in the City, and his Prisoner, went immediately to wait upon him, accosted him with all the Respect that was due to his Character, and conducted him, attended by all the chief Officers of the Army, to his Camp. There he entertained him for a few Days with the greatest Magnificence, and then not only set him at Liberty, but, upon his chusing to be conducted to *Benevento*, attended him thither in Person. *Leo*, no less surpris'd at, than pleas'd with the polite and extremely obliging Behaviour of the *Normans*, absolved them from the Censures which they had incurred, blessed their Arms, approved of the Conquests they had made, and encouraged them to pursue the Advantages they had already gain'd, and add the Reduction of *Calabria* to that of *Apulia* ^a. This memorable Battle was fought on the Eighteenth of *June* 1053; and those, who fell in it on the Pope's Side, being looked upon as Martyrs, though they died in fighting against as good Christians as themselves, a Church was built to their Memory upon the Field of Battle ^b.

The Pope
taken Prison-
er.

But used by
the Normans
with the
greatest Re-
spect and Po-
liteness.

The Pope arrived at *Benevento* on the Twenty-third of *June* of the present Year 1053, and continued there to the Twelfth of *March* 1054. During his Stay in that City he received a very respectful Letter from the Emperor *Constantine Monomachus*, wherein he expressed a great Desire to see the ancient, but long interrupted, Union restored between the Sees of *Constantinople* and *Rome*, and offered himself ready to contribute, so far as in him lay, to so good a Work; nay, he obliged the Patriarch, *Michael Cerularius*, to write to the Pope at the same Time, entreating his Holiness to concur with him in re-establishing the so much wished-for Harmony between the Two

Letters to
the Pope from
the Emperor
of the East
and the Pa-
triarch of
Constantino-
ple for re-
storing the
Union be-
tween the
Two
Churches.

^a Malater. l. ii. c. 14. Leo Oflens. l. ii. c. 87.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Wi-

bert. Vit. Leon.

Year of
Christ 1053.

Churches. The Emperor flattered himself, that by thus writing to the Pope he should gain him, and by his Means procure Assistance from the Emperor *Henry* to drive the *Normans* out of *Italy*. For that *Constantine* had in his View, little solicitous about the Union between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches.

The Pope
sends Legates
into the East.

The Pope, upon the Receipt of these Letters, dispatched Three Legates into the East, viz. *Humbert*, Cardinal Bishop of the *White Forest*, *Peter*, Bishop of *Amalfi*, and *Frederic*, then Chancellor of the *Roman* Church, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Stephen* IX. or X. They were charged with Two Letters in Answer to those which the Pope had received from the Emperor and the Patriarch. *Leo* declared in both his earnest Desire of seeing the perfect Harmony restored, that had once subsisted between the East and the West, assured the Emperor that nothing should be wanting on his Side to revive it, but complained, in very strong Terms, of the Patriarch, for presuming to condemn the Practice of consecrating in unleavened Bread, a Practice, which, he said, the *Roman* Church had adopted, and constantly followed ever since the Passion of our Saviour, or the Institution of the Sacrament^b.

The Legates
well received
by the Empe-
ror.

Year of
Christ 1054.

The Legates set out in the Month of *January* 1054 for the East, and being, upon their Arrival at *Constantinople*, received by the Emperor with extraordinary Marks of Distinction, they told him, that they were sent, at his Request, by the Holy Pope *Leo*, to renew the ancient Correspondence and good Understanding between *Constantinople* and *Rome*, and begged his Concurrence in an Undertaking, that would no less redound to the Honour of the See of the Imperial City than to his. The Emperor promised to assist them to the utmost of his Power. But the Patriarch could by no Means be prevailed upon to confer with the Legates, or so much as to see them. *Humbert* therefore thought it necessary to answer, in Writing, the Letter he wrote to the Bishop of *Trani* against the Use of unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, as well as some other Practices, wherein the *Greek* Church differed from the *Roman*. That Letter he answered accordingly in a Dialogue between a Member of the Church of *Constantinople*, and One of the *Roman*, the former objecting and the latter solving the Objections. The *Roman* lays great Stress on our Saviour's having consecrated in unleavened Bread, (which does not prove that no other

But the Pa-
triarch de-
clines all Con-
ferences with
them.

^b Wibert. Vit. Leon.

should be used, as has been shewn above) and on the Indecency of using Bread, bought in the common Market, and kneaded with impure Hands: whereas the Bread, consecrated in the *Roman* Church, was kneaded by the Priests, the Deacons, and the Subdeacons in their sacred Garments, and singing all the While Psalms. The *Roman* finds Fault with several other Practices, which, it seems, prevailed at that Time among the *Greeks*, such as their crumbling the consecrated Bread into the Chalice, and taking it with a Spoon, their burning or burying the Remains of the Eucharist, their refusing the Communion to Women in Childbirth, though in Danger of their Lives, and not baptizing Infants till the Eighth Day. This Piece was written in *Latin*, but translated into *Greek* by the Emperor's Order, and sent to the Patriarch, and to all the Bishops under the Jurisdiction of his Sec.

Humbert likewise answered a Piece, that had been published by a Monk of the Monastery of *Studium*, named *Nicetas*, who was deemed One of the most learned Men at that Time in the East. In that Piece the Monk undertook to prove, that leavened Bread only should be used in the Eucharist, that the Sabbath ought to be kept holy, and that Priests should be allowed to marry. But the Emperor, who wanted by all Means to gain the Pope, for the Reasons mentioned above, was, or rather pretended to be, so fully convinced with the Arguments of the Legate confuting those alledged by *Nicetas*, that he obliged the Monk publicly to recant, and anathematize all, who held the Opinion, that he had endeavoured to establish, with Respect to unleavened Bread, the Sabbath, and the Marriage of Priests. At the same Time *Nicetas*, in Compliance with the Command of the Emperor, anathematized all, who should question the Primacy of the *Roman* Church with Respect to all other Christian Churches, or should presume to censure her ever orthodox Faith. The Monk having thus retracted all he had writ against the Holy Sec, his Book was burnt by the Emperor's Order, and he absolved by the Legates from the Censures he had incurred.

Constantine spared no Pains, no Threats, nor Promises, to get the Patriarch to retract, after the Example of *Nicetas*, what he had writ against the *Roman* Church in his Letter to the Bishop of *Tra-* *ni*. But his Endeavours were all to no Purpose, the Patriarch declaring, with unshaken Constancy, that the Emperor might, if he

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pleased, remove him, but that no Power upon Earth should ever make him betray his Trust by subjecting the See of the Imperial City to that of *Rome*. The Legates therefore, finding him thus unalterable, went on the Sixteenth of *July* to the Church of *St. Sophia*, attended by their Retinue and some of the chief Officers of the Empire, and there, after complaining of the Obstinacy of the Patriarch in the Presence of the Clergy and a great Multitude of People come to assist at divine Service, they laid the Sentence of Excommunication against the Patriarch in Writing upon the high Altar, and then leaving the Church, shook off the Dust from their Feet, saying, let God look down and judge him.

Leave Con-
stantinople.

The Legates left *Constantinople* Two Days after, pronouncing, upon their Departure, Sentence of Excommunication against all, who should thenceforth receive the Sacrament administered by any *Greek*, who found Fault with the Sacrifice or Mass of the *Latins*. The Emperor loaded them, at their setting out, with Presents for *St. Peter*, the Pope, and themselves. But Two Days after their Departure the Patriarch, applying to the Emperor, declared that he was willing to confer with them, and begged they might be recalled. The Emperor thereupon immediately dispatched a Messenger after them, who overtook them at *Selimbria*; and they returned with him the next Day to *Constantinople*.

Snare laid
for them by
the Patri-
arch.

The Patriarch, hearing of their Return, invited them to meet him the following Day in a Council, which he had appointed to assemble in the great Church of *St. Sophia*. But the Emperor, apprehending that the Patriarch had laid some Snare for the Legates, declared that no Council should meet unless he was present at it in Person. This put the Patriarch into some Confusion, which greatly encreased the Emperor's Suspicion; who thereupon advised the Legates to depart without Delay; and they did so accordingly. It was afterwards found that the Patriarch had falsified the Sentence of Excommunication, left by the Legates on the Altar, and filled it with such severe Reflections on the *Greeks* in general, as would have incensed the Multitude, and, in all Likelihood, proved fatal to the Legates. The Patriarch, finding his Design thus defeated by the Emperor, stirred up the People against him, as acting in Concert with the Legates, and sacrificing the undoubted Rights of the Church of *Constantinople* to the Ambition of the Pope and his Legates. The Discontent this occasioned among the People, as well as the Clergy, became so general, that the Emperor, to satisfy them,

was

was obliged to cause the Two *Latin* Interpreters, *Paul* and his Son *Smaragdus*, to be publicly whipped and delivered up to the Patriarch. Year of
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In the mean time the Emperor, suspecting the Sentence of Excommunication, left by the Legates, to have been falsified by the Patriarch, dispatched a Messenger after them for a true Copy of that Sentence. The Messenger overtook the Legates in the Country of the *Russians*, and from thence brought back with him a Copy of that Sentence, which he solemnly attested to be genuine. That Copy the Emperor caused to be immediately made public, to the no small Mortification of the Patriarch: but not thinking it safe to remove him, as he was a great Favourite of the Populace, he contented himself with depriving his Friends and Relations of their Employments, and banishing them all from the Court.

The Substance of the true Sentence, as published by the Emperor, *The Sentence
against the
Patriarch
left by the
Legates at
their Departure.* was as follows: “ We *Humbert*, by the Grace of God, Cardinal Bishop of the holy *Roman* Church, *Peter* Archbishop of *Amalfi*, *Frederic* Deacon and Chancellor, to all the Sons of the Catholic Church. The Holy *Roman* and Apostolic See, the First of all Sees, and charged, as such, with the Care of all Churches, has sent us to this Imperial City, to enquire, upon the Spot, into the Truth of what is reported concerning it. Indeed we have found what affords us great Matter of Joy, and likewise what gives us great Grief and Concern. For as to the Pillars of the Empire, those, who are distinguished with Dignities in the Government, and the Citizens of any Rank in the City, are most christian and orthodox. But as to *Michael*, improperly called Patriarch, and his Adherents, the Tares of numberless Heresies are sowed daily by them. They are Simoniacs, and sell the Gift of God; they not only ordain Eunuchs, but prefer them, in Defiance of the Canons, to the Episcopal Dignity; like the *Arians* they rebaptize those, who have been baptized in the Name of the Trinity, especially the *Latins*; they maintain, that besides the *Greek* Church there is no true Church in the World, and no true Sacrifice, no true Baptism out of that Church; like the *Nicolaites*, they permit the Ministers of the Altar to marry; like the *Severians*, they call the Law of *Moses* an accursed Law; like the *Pneumatomachi*, they have left out of the Symbol the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son; like the *Manichees*, they maintain, among other Things, that whatever is leavened is ani-
“ mated;

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“ mated; like the *Nazarenes*, they observe the Purifications of the
 “ *Jews*; will not suffer Children, even in imminent Danger, to
 “ be baptized before the Eighth Day, nor Women in Childbed to
 “ receive the Eucharist, or Baptism, if they are Pagans; they deny
 “ their Communion to those, who cut their Hair, or shave their
 “ Beards, as is practised in the *Roman Church*. Of these Errors
 “ and many wicked Deeds *Michael* has been admonished by our
 “ Lord Pope *Leo*, but has not hearkened to his Admonitions; nay
 “ he would not so much as see us, or converse with us, though
 “ desirous of curing these Evils jointly with him, nor would he al-
 “ low us Churches for the Celebration of Mass. He had before
 “ shut up the Churches of the *Latins*, calling them, by way of Con-
 “ tempt, *Azimites*, persecuting them as Heretics, and in them the
 “ holy Apostolic See; in Opposition to which he assumes the Title
 “ of Universal Patriarch. We therefore, by the Authority of the
 “ holy and undivided Trinity, of the holy Apostolic See, of all the
 “ Orthodox Fathers, of the Seven General Councils, and of the
 “ whole Catholic Church, subscribe the Anathema, that our most
 “ Reverend Lord the Pope has pronounced against *Michael* and his
 “ Followers unless they repent, and say; may *Michael*, the false
 “ Patriarch, the Neophyte, who took the Monastic Habit out of
 “ Fear of Men, and is even now charged by many with the worst
 “ of Crimes, and with him *Leo*, called Bishop of *Acris*, and *Con-*
 “ *stantine*, *Michael's* Treasurer, who has profanely trodden upon
 “ the Sacrifice of the *Latins*, may they and all their Follow-
 “ ers be anathematized with the above-mentioned and all other
 “ Heretics, nay with the Devil and his Angels, unless they repent.
 “ *Amen, Amen, Amen.*” Another Excommunication was thundered
 out by the Legates, in the Presence of the Emperor and the Nobles
 of his Court, in the following Words: “ Whoever shall find Fault
 “ with the Faith of the holy See of *Rome*, and its Sacrifice, let
 “ him be anathematized, and not looked upon as a Christian Ca-
 “ tholic, but as a *Proximate* Heretic. *Fiat, fiat, fiat.*”

Letter of the
Patriarch to
the Patriarch
of Antioch.

The Patriarch, highly provoked at the Insolence of the Legates, wrote a long Letter to *Peter*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, calculated to persuade him to break off all Communication with the *Roman Church*. In that Letter he pretended that the Three Legates were Impostors, not sent by the Pope, but by *Argyrus*, the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Italy*, with a Design to promote the Opinions of the
Latins,

Latins, and engage them, by that means, to assist him in his Wars with the *Normans*. He tells the Patriarch of *Antioch*, that the Emperor, and he at the Emperor's Request, wrote to the Pope, expressing, in their Letters, a most sincere Desire of seeing the Two Churches happily re-united, but that *Argyrus*, applying to his own Use the Presents which the Emperor had sent to the Pope, and keeping the Letters, forged Answers to them in the Pope's Name, and sent them by Three Impostors to *Constantinople*, viz. by one, who had been Bishop of *Amalfi*, but was driven from that See, and deposed for his Wickedness, by another who stiled himself Chancellor, and a third who assumed the Title of Archbishop, but Nobody could tell where his Bishopric lay. In the next Place the Patriarch describes the haughty Behaviour of the Three pretended Legates to the Emperor as well as to him, and then enumerates the many Abuses that prevailed in the *Roman* Church, and most other Churches in the West, such as their using unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, their shaving their Beards, eating unclean and suffocated Meats, forbidding Priests to marry, eating Flesh on Wednesdays, and Cheese and Eggs on Fridays, and adding to the Symbol that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. He closes his Letter with exhorting the Patriarch of *Antioch* to renounce the Communion of a Church infected with so many Errors in Faith, as well as Practices repugnant to those of the Primitive Church ^c.

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This Letter the Patriarch of *Antioch* answered, expressing great Surprise, in his Letter, at the Boldness of *Argyrus*, in presuming to impose forged Letters upon the Emperor, as written by the Pope, and he seems to question the Truth of the Fact. As to the Errors charged upon the *Latins*, he was of Opinion that most of them might be connived at, for what matters it, said he, whether they shave their Beards, or let them grow; whether they eat certain Meats, or abstain from them, as no Meats are forbidden; whether on certain Days they fast or they feast: They are our Brethren, and as we can only look upon them as Barbarians, it behoves us to wink at their less gross Errors, and content ourselves with their holding the true Doctrine concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. With respect to leavened or unleavened Bread, the Patriarch will have the different Churches to retain their different Cus-

The Patri-
arch of An-
tioch's An-
swer.

^c Baron. ubi supra.

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toms, and not to quarrel about a Point of so little Moment, but thinks that the *Greeks* should all insist upon the *Latins* allowing their Priests to marry, and altering the Symbol, where the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father and the Son. He closed his Letter with exhorting his Brother the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to use Moderation, and bear with the Customs of the *Latins*, though different from those of the *Greeks*, rather than break the Union, as such a Breach would be attended with the worst of Evils. But the Patriarch, provoked beyond Measure at the haughty Behaviour of the Legates, instead of following the more moderate Counsels of his Brother of *Antioch*, sowed such Seeds of Division between the East and the West, as keep them divided to this Day, notwithstanding the frequent Attempts that have been made, at different Times, to heal that Division.

Leo returns
to Rome, and
dies.

Leo died before the Legates returned to *Rome*. He staid at *Benevento* till the 12th of *March* 1054, when being taken ill he desired Count *Humfrid* to escort him to *Capua*, which the Count did very readily, attended by most of the chief Officers of his Army. At *Capua* the Pope staid Twelve Days, and from thence returned to *Rome* a little before Easter, which in 1054 fell on the 3d of *April*. He remained a few Days in the *Lateran* Palace, and it being revealed to him there, as we are told, that his End was at hand, he caused himself to be carried in a Litter to the Oratory of *St. Peter*. There he received the Sacrament, and being removed from thence to an adjoining House that belonged to his See, he died the next Day, the 19th of *April*, in the 50th Year of his Age, having governed the Church of *Toul* 28 Years, and that of *Rome* Five Years Two Months and Seven Days.

His Character.

He spared no Pains during the whole Time of his Pontificate to reform the many scandalous Abuses that had been tolerated, and even encouraged, by his wicked Predecessors. Simony, that prevailed all over *France* as well as *Italy*, he entirely extirpated, punishing, with the utmost Severity, all whom he found guilty of that Crime. He constantly lay on the Ground, wore a Hair-cloth next to his Skin, practised many other Austerities, and, while he was at *Rome*, walked bare-footed, Three Days in the Week, from the *Lateran* Palace to *St. Peter's*. His Generosity to the Poor knew no Bounds; and we are told, that seeing one Day a Leper at the Door of his Palace, he carried him upon his Shoulders and put him into

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into his own Bed, but that though the Doors were kept shut, he could not be found the next Day, whence it was concluded, that Christ himself had taken that Shape. In Ambition he equalled the most ambitious of his Predecessors, letting no Opportunity of aggrandizing his See pass unimproved. His crediting the false Reports that were spread of the *Normans* by their Enemies, his painting them to both Emperors as a most barbarous and savage Race, his making War upon them, and heading his Army in Person, are Actions, that even those have highly condemned, who speak the most favourably of him. However, he has been honoured with a Place in the Calendar, and his Remains are still worshipped under the Altar in St. Peter's Church, that *Paul V.* erected, in 1606, to his Memory. *Leo* was the first Pope that marked in his Bulls the Years of our Lord, the preceding Popes using no other Date but that of the Indictions.

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THEODORA PORPHY-
ROGENITA,
MICHAEL STRATIO-
TICUS,
ISAACIUS COMNENUS,
Emperors of the East.

VICTOR II.

HENRY III.
HENRY IV.
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and fiftieth BISHOP of Rome.

AS, upon the Death of *Leo*, no Person was to be found in the Roman Church fit to be raised to the Pontifical Chair, the People and Clergy of *Rome* dispatched the Monk *Hildebrand*, a Man of great Cunning and Address, into *Germany*, empowering him to chuse there one, in their Name, whom he should think equal to so great a Trust. This Commission *Hildebrand* readily undertook, and the Person he chose was *Gebehard*, Bishop of *Eichsted*, a near Relation of the Emperor, and the most wealthy and powerful Lord in the whole Empire. As he was a Man of uncommon Parts, of great Experience in the Management of public Affairs, and the Emperor was entirely governed by his Counsels, he could not, for a long Time, be prevailed upon to consent to his Election, and deprive himself of so able and so faithful a Counsellor; the rather as *Gebehard* himself strongly opposed his own Election, being as unwilling to part with the Emperor, as the Emperor was to part with

Victor II.
chosen.
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him. But *Hildebrand* obstinately persisting in the Election he had made, though many others were named to him, all Men of unexceptionable Characters, they were both in the End forced to yield. *Gebehard* therefore, taking his Leave of the Emperor, repaired with *Hildebrand* to *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy both by the People and the Clergy, and inthroned, under the Name of *Victor* II. with the usual Solemnity, on Maunday-Thursdai, which in 1055 fell on the 13th of *April*, when the See had been vacant ever since the 19th of the same Month 1054^a.

Holds a
Council at
Florence.

Victor, a few Days after his Inauguration, went to meet the Emperor at *Florence*, and held there a General Council, that is a Council consisting of most of the *Italian*, and such of the *German* Bishops as attended the Emperor. By this Council several Abuses were redressed, the alienating the Goods of the Church was strictly forbidden^b, and the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was anew condemned^c. At the same time the Pope sent *Hildebrand*, though then only a Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, into *France*, with the Character of his Legate, to correct the Abuses that prevailed in those Parts, especially simoniacal Ordinations. *Hildebrand* convened a great Council at *Lyons*, and proceeding, with the utmost Severity, against the Delinquents, deposed no fewer than Six Bishops accused and convicted of different Crimes. Among these was one arraigned of Simony; but the Charge not being fully proved on the Day when it was first brought against him, he found Means, in the Night, to buy off the Accusers, as well as the Witnesses, and appearing the next Day undaunted before the Council, he pleaded Not Guilty, challenging those, who had accused him, to produce their Witnesses and prove the Charge to the Satisfaction of the Council. As Nobody appeared, the Bishops were all of Opinion, that Judgment should be given in his Favour. But *Hildebrand*, addressing him with a deep Sigh, do you believe, said he, that the Holy Ghost is of the same divine Substance with the Father and the Son? I do believe it, answered the Bishop. If you do, replied *Hildebrand*, say, *Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*. The Bishop named, without the least Hesitation, the Father and the Son, but could never utter the Name of the Holy Ghost, though

A Bishop
miraculously
convicted of
Simony.

^a Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 90.

^b Petrus Damian. l. xii. ep. 4.

^c Lanfranc,

he attempted it several Times; which struck the Bishop with such Terror, that being conscious to himself of his Guilt, he threw himself at *Hildebrand's* Feet, confessed his Crime, and being thereupon divested of the Episcopal Dignity, he immediately pronounced the Name of the Holy Ghost with the same Ease as he did the Names of the Two other Divine Persons. Strange! that any of the Popes should have been able, for a whole Century, to utter that Divine Name. This Story is related by *Petrus Damianus*, who lived at this Time, in a Letter to Pope *Nicholas*^d, by *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, who declares, in his Dialogues, that he had it from *Hildebrand* himself, and by *Malmsbury*, upon the Authority of *St. Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny*, a contemporary Writer^e.

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Christ 1055.

In the same Year another Council was held by *Hildebrand* at *Tours*, in which the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was again condemned; for it had taken deep Root in *France*, and begun to spread there. *An anonymous Author*, who wrote in 1088, tells us, that in this Council Leave was given to *Berengarius* to defend his Doctrine; but not being able to maintain it, he abjured his Heresy, and promised upon Oath to hold thenceforth no other Doctrine but that of the Church, with respect to the Eucharist^f. *Lanfranc*, who was present at this Council, reproaches his Antagonist *Berengarius* in the following Words: "In the Council of *Tours*, at which
" assisted the Legates of Pope *Victor*, you was permitted to defend
" your Opinion, but not daring to do it, you confessed, in the Presence of all, the common Faith of the Church, and swore that
" you would thenceforth hold no other." But though he thus publicly retracted his Opinion out of Fear, he was not convinced of its being erroneous, and therefore still continued to hold and even to teach it with good Success.

To this Council the Emperor *Henry* sent Embassadors to complain of *Ferdinand the Great*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, for assuming the Title of Emperor, and refusing to obey the Emperor of the *Romans*. *Henry* begged that *Ferdinand* might be excommunicated, and his Kingdoms put under an Interdict, if he did not obey him, and relinquish the Title of Emperor. *Hildebrand* did not let so

Ferdinand
King of *Castile*
ordered by
the Pope not
to take upon
him the Title
of Emperor.

^d *Petrus Damian. Opuscul. 19. c. 6.*

^e *Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. 1. 3.*

^f *Anonymus. Chifflet de multiplici Bereng. Damnatione. Malmsb. ubi sup. p. 113.*

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favourable an Opportunity of extending the papal Power and Authority over Princes pass unimproved. He immediately acquainted *Victor* with the Request of the Emperor, and having prevailed upon him to comply with it, he dispatched Legates into *Spain* to let *Ferdinand* know, that if he did not renounce the Title of Emperor, to which he had no Kind of Right, and submit to *Henry*, the only true Emperor, pursuant to the Decree of the Sovereign Pontiff, and the Council assembled by his Order at *Tours*, the Sentence of Excommunication and Interdict would be thundered out against him and his Subjects. This haughty Message occasioned the assembling of a Council, at which were present most of the chief Bishops and Lords of the Two Kingdoms; and it was determined, after a long and warm Debate, that the King should, for the Sake of Peace, comply with the Command of the Pope and the Council; and he complied with it accordingly &c.

Council of
Toulouse.
Year of
Christ 1056.

The following Year 1056 another Council was held by the Pope's Order at *Toulouse*, under *Rambald*, *Pontius*, and *Wilfrid*, Archbishops of *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Narbonne*, appointed to preside at it with the Character of Legates of the Apostolic See. The Council met on the 13th of *September*, consisted of Seventeen Bishops, and Thirteen Canons were made by it against *Simony*, and the Incontinence of the Clergy ^b. The Council was yet sitting, when the

The Pope goes
into Germany,
and attends the
Emperor in his
last Hours.

Pope, at the Request of the Emperor, who was taken dangerously ill, went into *Germany*, and finding him, upon his Arrival at *Goslar*, near his End, he attended him in his last Hours. *Henry* died on the 5th of *October* of the present Year, having caused his Son *Henry*, the Fourth of that Name, then about Seven Years old, to be acknowledged by the Pope for his Successor; and it was chiefly for that Purpose he had sent for him. The Pope assembled a general Diet at *Cologne*, before he left *Germany*, in order to reconcile the Malecontents, among whom were some Lords of great Power, with the Empress *Agnes*, appointed to govern during the Minority of her Son.

Victor dies.
Year of
Christ 1057.

The Pope celebrated the Christmas Festival at *Ratisbon* with the young Prince, and from thence returned to *Rome*. But leaving that City soon after, he went into *Tuscany*, and died there in *June* 1057, having held the See Two Years Three Months and some Days.

^a Mariana in Ferdinand. & apud Baron. ad hunc ann. p. 1084.

^b Concil. tom. ix.

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Of this Pope we have but One Letter, whereby he confirms all the Privileges granted by his Predecessors to the Bishops of the *White Forest*. He is said to have been preserved from an imminent Danger by the following Miracle. A Subdeacon put a Dose of Poison, upon what Provocation we know not, into the Chalice, while the Pope was celebrating Mass, which would have soon put an End to his Life; but he could not, with all his Might, lift up the Chalice to drink the consecrated Wine. Such an extraordinary Event surprized him and the whole Congregation, and they all fell upon their Knees, beseeching the Almighty to discover the Cause of so miraculous an Effect. While they were praying, the Subdeacon was suddenly seized with the Devil; and he thereupon publicly confessed his Crime, begging the Pope and the Congregation to forgive him, which the holy Pontiff not only did very readily, but continued praying for him with all who were present, till the evil Spirit left him. As for the poisoned Chalice, and the consecrated Wine, he caused them to be shut up in an Altar, and to be kept there for ever with other Reliques¹.

Year of
Christ 1057.

ISAACIUS COMNENUS
Emperor of the East.

STEPHEN IX. or X. HENRY IV.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-first BISHOP of Rome.

THE unexpected News of *Victor's* Death was brought to *Rome* Stephen IX. by *Boniface*, Bishop of *Albano*; and *Frederic*, Cardinal of *chofen*. Sr. *Chrysogenus*, and Chancellor of the *Roman* Church, happening then to be there, the leading Men of the People and Clergy went immediately to the Palace *Pallaria*, where he was lodged, to advise with him about the Election of a new Pope. The Cardinal named Five to them, whom he thought the most worthy of, and all alike equal to the Pontifical Dignity. These were *Humbert*, Bishop of the *White Forest* or St. *Rufina*, the Bishops of *Veletri*, of *Perugia*, of *Tuscanum*, and *Hildebrand*, Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church. But the *Romans*, thinking none better qualified for so high a Station than *Frederic* himself, declared they would chuse him and no

¹ Lambert Schaffnaburg. ad an. 1054. Uspergenf. Abb. ad eundem ann.

other.

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Christ 1057.

other. He answered, *God's Will be done ; you can neither bestow that Dignity upon me, nor take it from me against his Will.* Some were for putting off the Election till *Hildebrand* returned, who had attended the late Pope into *Tuscany*. But the greater Part, thinking no Time was to be lost, went early the next Day to the Palace of *Pallaria*, and carrying *Frederic* from thence to the Church of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, they there unanimously elected him, under the Name of *Stephen IX.* his Election happening on the 2d of *August*, the Festival of the Pope of that Name. He was at the same time inthroned in the *Lateran* Basilic, and the next Day solemnly consecrated in the Church of *St. Peter*, where that Ceremony was constantly performed, sometimes after, but commonly before the Inthronation ^a.

His Family,
Employments,
&c.

Frederic was Brother to *Godfrey*, Duke of *Lorrain*, in those Days a very powerful Prince. In the Time of *Leo IX.* he was Archdeacon of the Church of *Liege* ; but having attended that Pope while in *Germany*, and accompanied him from thence to *Rome*, he was by him made Chancellor of the *Roman* Church, and sent with *Humbert* and *Peter* of *Amalfi* into the East, to negotiate an Union between the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*. On his Return to *Rome* he was created Cardinal Deacon of *St. Chrysogonus*, and embracing soon after a monastic Life at *Monte Cassino*, he was by the Intrigues of Cardinal *Humbert* made Abbot of that Monastery ; and it was on his Return from *Tuscany*, whither he had gone to be consecrated Abbot by the Pope, that he received the unexpected News of his Death.

Councils held
at Rome.

The new Pope stayed Four Months at *Rome* after his Election, during which Time he held several Councils against incestuous Marriages, and the Marriages of Priests ; and in one of these Councils it was decreed, that such Priests as had married, since the Prohibition of *Leo IX.* should be degraded, and for ever expelled the Order, and that even those among them, who sincerely repented of their Crime, and had done Penance for it of their own Accord, should nevertheless quit the Ecclesiastical Order for a Time, and be for ever debarred from saying Mass ^b.

The Pope at
Monte Cassino.

The Pope continued at *Rome* till the Festival of *St. Andrew*, and then repairing to *Monte Cassino*, he staid there till the Feast of *St.*

^a Leo Ostien. l. ii. c. 98.

^b Petrus Damian. Epist. ad Epif. Taurin.

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Scholastica, that is, till the Twentieth of *February* 1058, striving to reform some Abuses, especially that of private Property, which had crept into that Monastery. During his Stay at *Monte Cassino* he fell dangerously ill, and thinking himself near his End, he desired the Monks to chuse themselves another Abbot in his room; and they accordingly chose, with one Consent, *Desiderius*, Monk of that Monastery, who was afterwards created Cardinal by Pope *Nicholas* II. and raised, upon the Death of *Gregory* VII. to the Pontifical Dignity under the Name of *Victor* III. The Pope approved and confirmed the Election of *Desiderius*, but upon Condition that it should not take Place till after his Death, and he still should be Abbot if he recovered^c. He is said to have followed therein the Example of his Two immediate Predecessors, who kept, after their Promotion, what they held before it, the One the Bishopric of *Toul*, and the other that of *Eichsted*.

Year of
Christ 1057.

Stephen upon his Return to *Rome* conferred the Dignity of Cardinal on *Petrus Damianus*, and at the same time preferred him to the Bishopric of *Ostia*. He was One of the most learned as well as the best Men of his Age, had embraced a monastic Life, and was so fond of Retirement, that he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept either of those Dignities, till the Pope threatened him with Excommunication if he did not comply^d. *Ciacconius* supposes, upon what Authority I know not, Six other Cardinals to have been created at the same time, and will have this to have been the first solemn Creation of Cardinals that we meet with in History. Be that as it will, *Damianus*, upon the Death of *Stephen*, whom he styled his Persecutor, applied to *Nicholas*, his Successor, for Leave to resign, but could not obtain it^e.

Petrus Damianus
made Cardinal and Bishop of *Ostia*.
Year of
Christ 1058.

From *Rome* the Pope sent an Order, soon after his Return to that City, to the Treasurer of the Monastery of *Monte Cassino*, enjoining him to convey to *Rome* without Delay, and as secretly as he possibly could, all the Silver and Gold belonging to that Sanctuary. The Monks were greatly alarmed at so unprecedented an Order; but not daring to disobey it, the whole Treasure of the Church was privately brought to *Rome* and delivered to the Pope. The Holy Pontiff proposed to confer the Imperial Dignity upon *Godfrey*, his Brother, who

The Pope
seizes on the
Wealth of
Monte Cassino
no.

^c Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 8.
apud Baron. ad ann. 1057.

^d Joann. Lacedens. in ejus Vit. c. 6.

^e Epist.

Year of
Christ 1058.

had lately married *Beatrix*, the Widow of *Boniface* Duke of *Tuscany*, and had by that Marriage added that Dukedom to *Lorrain*. But as he wanted Money to defray the Expences of that Ceremony, and to maintain his Brother on the Imperial Throne against the Empress *Agnes*, who governed, during the Minority of her Son, he thought it no Crime to rob the Churches of their Wealth for so pious a Purpose, and began with that of *Monte Cassino*. But he soon changed his Mind, being greatly affected with the Tears the Monks shed in parting with their Treasures, and ordered them all to be carried back, nay and terrified with a Vision or Dream, he added to them many rich Presents, whereof the Reader will find an Inventory in *Leo Ostiensis* §.

But restores
it.

The Pope issues a Decree concerning the Election of his Successor.

He dies at
Florence.

The Pope, after a short Stay at *Rome*, repaired to *Florence*, to confer there with his Brother *Godfrey*, whom he was very desirous of promoting to the Imperial Dignity, flattering himself that he should with the Assistance his Brother would lend him, were he placed upon the Imperial Throne, be able to drive the *Normans*, of whose growing Power he entertained great Jealousy, quite out of *Italy*. While he was upon the Point of setting out for *Florence*, he dispatched *Hildebrand* into *Germany*, to transact with the Empress *Agnes* some Affairs relating to the Apostolic See, and on that Occasion, he issued a Decree, strictly forbidding the People and the Clergy to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, if he should die in the mean time, before *Hildebrand* returned to *Rome*, and at the same time exhorting them to acquiesce in his Councils whenever the See became vacant. *Stephen* was, it seems, sensible of the Approach of Death: and he died on the Twenty-ninth of *March* 1058, soon after his Arrival at *Florence*, having held the See from the Second of *August* 1057 to that Time. He was attended on his Death-bed by St. *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny*; and we are told that the Devil appeared to him several Times in his last Illness, but constantly left the Room as soon as the holy Abbot entered it &c. He was buried at *Florence*, where he died, and is said to have wrought many Miracles after his Death, but has not nevertheless been canonized by the Church, though his Name is to be met with in some Martyrologies of the *Benedictine* Order with the Epithet of *Saint*. A Monument was erected to his Memory by his Brother *Godfrey*, Duke of *Tuscany*, in a more elegant Stile than we commonly meet with in Compositions of that

§ Leo Ostiens. l. ii. c. 100, 103.

8 Ap. Surium, Die 19 April.

Benedict X. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Century (A). He was concerned in the Writings that Cardinal *Humbert* published at *Constantinople*, in Answer to the Patriarch *Michael Cerularius*, and the Monk *Nicetas*; and we have besides Two Letters of his, the one to the Archbishop of *Reims*, wherein he invites him to a Council, which he had appointed to meet at *Rome* Fourteen Days after Easter. By the other, addressed to *Pandolphus*, Bishop of *Marsi*, he restores that Bishopric, which had been divided into Two, to its former Condition. He resolved, a little before he died, to attempt a Reconciliation between the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*, and named *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, with Cardinal *Stephen*, and *Mainard*, afterwards Bishop of the *White Forest*, to go into the East with the Character of his Legates, and they had got as far as *Bari*, intending to embark for *Constantinople*. But being there informed of the Pope's Death, and thinking it adviseable not to proceed, *Desiderius* returned to his Monastery, and the other Two to *Rome*^h.

Year of
Christ 1058.

His Writ-
ings.

ISAACIUS COMNENUS,
Emperor of the East.

BENEDICT X.

HENRY IV.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-second BISHOP of Rome.

THE deceased Pope had, as has been said, issued a Decree, for bidding a new Pope to be chosen, if he should die, till *Hildebrand* returned from *Germany*. But though the Decree was made with the Consent and Approbation of the Clergy and the People, News of *Stephen's* Death was no sooner brought to *Rome*, than a strong Party, headed by the Counts of *Tusculum*, chose *John Minicius*, Bishop of *Veletri*, and placing him upon the Pontifical Throne,

Benedict X.
simoniacally
elected.

^h Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 8.

(A) It is as follows :
D. O. M.

Stephano Papæ Nono, olim Juniano Friderico, Gozelonis Lotharingæ Ducis Filio, Apostolicæ Sedis Cancellario, Monacho et Abbati Casinensi, Cardinali tit. S. Chrysogoni, Pontifici opt. max. pio, felici, Sanctitate et Miraculorum Gloria illustri, Godbifredus Heirufcorum Dux, ut defunc-

to Fratri Domi suæ et inter proprios Amplexus, quas potest Charitatis suæ Vices rependat, non sine Lacrymis parentat. Monachi Abbatie Florentinæ in Ædibus ad divi Joannis Baptistæ offerunt, et justa solvunt. IV. Kalendas Aprilis M. LVIII. This Monument is still to be seen at Florence in the Palace of the Grand Duke.

E c 2

gave

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Christ 1058.

Said to have
sent the Pall
to Stigand of
Canterbury.

gave him the Name of *Benedict X.* A contemporary Writer gives us the following Account of his Election: *Stephen*, says he, dying, *one Benedict* immediately invaded the Apostolic See without the Knowledge or the Approbation of the King, being supported in that Attempt by a Party, that he had gained with Money^a. And the Continuator of *Hermannus Contractus*; Pope *Stephen*, says he, died, and the *Romans*, bribed by one *John*, chose him contrary to the Canons, and placed him by Force upon the Apostolic Throne^b. *Petrus Damianus* with the other Cardinals and leading Men of the *Roman Church*, being determined to adhere to the Decree of the late Pope, and wait for the Return of *Hildebrand*, as if he were to bring the Holy Ghost along with him, opposed the simoniacal Election of *John*, nay and solemnly anathematized all, who were anyways concerned in it. But they were thereupon obliged to quit the City, and leave *Benedict* and his Party Masters of *Rome*. *Petrus Damianus*, by whom, as Bishop of *Ostia*, the new Pope was to be consecrated, being fled, they seized upon a Priest belonging to that Church, and obliged him, with a Dagger at his Throat, to perform the Ceremony on the Thirtieth of *March* 1058. *Benedict*, thus intruded and consecrated, held the See Nine Months and Twenty Days^c; but we find nothing recorded of him, during that Time, besides his sending the Pall to *Stigand*, who in the Year 1047 had been translated from the See of *Helmham* to that of *Winchester*, and was about the Year 1052 preferred to the See of *Canterbury*. We are told that as he still retained the Bishopric of *Canterbury*, and none of the preceding Popes would, upon that Account, grant him the Pall, he acknowledged *Benedict* in order to obtain it of him; and he obtained it accordingly^d. Thus *Malmsbury*. But I can hardly believe, that all the preceding Popes would have refused him the Pall merely because he held Two Bishoprics, since Two of them were, in his Time, guilty of the same Fault, *viz.* *Leo IX.* and *Victor II.* who held the Bishoprics of *Toul* and *Eichsted* with that of *Rome*, I have placed this Antipope among the lawful Popes under the Name of *Benedict X.* the next Pope of that Name, chosen in the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century, being called, in all the Catalogues, *Benedict XI.*

^a Lambert. Schafnab. 1058.

^b Ad ann. 1058.

^c Hermann. Contract. ad ann.

^d Malm. Pontif. l. i.

ISACIUS COMNENUS,
Emperor of the East.

NICHOLAS II.

HENRY IV.
King of Germany.Year of
Christ 1058.*The Hundred and fifty-third BISHOP of Rome.*

AS *Benedict* had been chosen without the Knowledge of the King, and consecrated without his Approbation or Consent, the chief Citizens of *Rome*, and such of the Clergy as had remained there, apprehending that the Empress *Agnes* would resent such an open Violation of the Rights of her Son, dispatched some of their Body into *Germany* to assure her that they had no Share in so uncanonical an Election, that they did not look upon the Bishop of *Veletri* as lawful Pope, but were ready to receive, and place upon the Pontifical Throne the Person, whom it should please the King to name. The *Roman* Envoys were well received at Court; and the King, or rather the Empress, nominated *Gerard*, then Bishop of *Florence*, a Native of *Burgundy*, and one equally acceptable to the *Italians* and the *Germans*. In the mean time *Hildebrand* returned from *Germany*, and stopping at *Florence* upon the News of the Election of *Benedict*, he wrote from thence to the *Romans*, finding great Fault with their Conduct, and exhorting them to proceed, without Delay, to a new Election. As this could not be done in *Rome*, where the Party of *Benedict* prevailed, the Cardinals and the rest of the *Roman* Clergy, who had retired from the City lest they should be forced to acknowledge *Benedict*, met at *Sienna*, and there chose unanimously, with the Consent of the *Roman* People, the Person, whom the King had named. This happened on the Twenty-eighth of *October* 1058.

The Pope immediately after his Election appointed a Council to meet at *Sutri*, in order to consult with the Cardinals and the other Bishops about the most proper Means of driving *Benedict* from the Sec. At this Council assisted most of the *Italian* Bishops, and with them Duke *Godfrey*, whom the King had ordered to attend the new Pope to *Rome*, and see him placed on the Pontifical Throne. The Bishops declared, all with one Voice, *Gerard* lawfully elected, and the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out against *Be-*

* Lambert. Schaffnburg. ad ann. 1059.

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Christ 1058.

nedict, if he did not forthwith relinquish the See, and retire. He retired accordingly as soon as he was informed of the Sentence pronounced against him, sensible that his Friends were not able to support him against the King, and the Duke of *Tuscany*. Upon his Retreat *Gerard* repaired to *Rome* with the Bishops of the Council and Duke *Godfrey*, and being there received with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem,

And Nicholas
in throned.

Year of
Christ 1059.

he was solemnly inthroned in the Beginning of *January* 1059, under the Name of *Nicholas* II. ^b. A few Days after his Inthronation the Antipope *Benedict*, being admitted to his Presence, threw himself at his Feet, owned himself an Usurper, and begged Forgiveness, protesting that he never had aspired at the Pontifical Dignity, but that it was offered him, and he was forced to accept the Offer. *Nicholas* absolved him from the Excommunication, which he had incurred, but divesting him at the same time of the Episcopacy and the Priesthood, he obliged him to spend the rest of his Days at *St. Mary the Greater* in *Rome* ^c. He lived there accordingly, being admitted by the Pope to Lay Communion, and was buried in that Church between the Altar of the Manger and that of *St. Jerom* ^d.

Desiderius
made Cardinal.

The first Thing we find recorded of this Pope is his sending for *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, his ordaining him Priest, consecrating him Abbot, creating him Cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, and appointing him his Vicar in the Provinces of *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria* ^e.

Berengarius
condemned in
a Council at
Rome.

As *Berengarius* continued, notwithstanding his repeated Recantations, to teach the same Doctrine concerning the Eucharist, and daily gained many Followers, the Pope, to put a Stop to the spreading Evil, resolved to condemn it again, and to assemble for that Purpose the Bishops of different Nations at *Rome*. He accordingly appointed a Council to meet there in the *Lateran* Palace, invited to it all the Bishops of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and summoned *Berengarius* himself to appear and maintain his Opinion, assuring him that no Violence should be offered him. The Council met in the Month of *April* of the present Year, consisted of 113 Bishops, of a great Number of Abbots, Priests, and Deacons, the Pope presiding at it in Person. *Berengarius* appeared, and is said to have, for some Time, defended his Opinion against *Alberic*, Monk of *Monte Cassino*, but to have yielded in the End, convinced by that Monk of his

^b Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 12.
Descript. Basilicæ, &c. p. 157.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 14.

^e Paulus de Angelis in

Error, nay and to have declared, that he was ready to sign, hold, and believe the Confession of Faith, that the Pope and the Council should think fit to dictate to him. The Council, pleased with his Submission; ordered Cardinal *Humbert* to draw up a Formulary to be signed by him; and the Cardinal drew it up in the following Words.

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Christ 1059.

“ I *Berengarius*, unworthy Deacon of the Church of St. *Maurice* Confession of
“ of *Angers*, knowing the true Catholic and Apostolic Faith, do Faith pre-
“ anathematize all Heresies, especially that, of which I have been ac- scribed to
“ cused, endeavouring to maintain, that the Bread and Wine, placed
“ upon the Altar after Consecration, are only a Sacrament, and not
“ the true Body and Blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and cannot,
“ save only in the Sign, be handled or broken by the Priest’s Hands,
“ or be ground by the Teeth of the Faithful. But I agree with the
“ Holy *Roman* Church, and the Apostolic See, and do with my
“ Mouth, and from my Heart profess, that I hold the same Faith
“ concerning the Sacrament of the Lord’s Table, which our Lord
“ the venerable Pope *Nicholas*, and this holy Synod, by Evangelical
“ and Apostolical Authority, has delivered to me to hold, and con-
“ firmed to me, viz. that the Bread and Wine, which are placed on
“ the Altar, after Consecration are not only a Sacrament, but also the
“ true Body of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, which are sensibly, not only as
“ a Sacrament, but verily and in Truth, handled and broken by the
“ Priest’s Hands, and ground by the Teeth of the Faithful. This
“ I swear by the holy and consubstantial Trinity, and by these holy
“ Gospels, declaring those, who shall oppose this Faith, as well as
“ their Followers, worthy of an eternal Anathema; and if I myself
“ shall dare to hold or to teach any thing repugnant to this Faith,
“ I will readily submit to the Rigor of the Canons. I have volun-
“ tarily signed this Writing after it was twice read over to me.”

Berengarius, after signing this Formulary, threw his own Writings, and with them those of *Scotus* containing the same Doctrine, into a Fire kindled for that Purpose in the Midst of the Council. The Pope believing the Conversion of *Berengarius* to be sincere, sent Copies of his Recantation into all the Countries where his Doctrine had been heard of, that they, who had been scandalized by his Heresy, might be edified by his Repentance. But that his Repentance was

f Alger. de Sacram. l. i. c. 19. Lanfranc. de Corp. Dom. l. i. c. 2. § Lanf. ibid.

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The Belief of
the Church of
Rome dif-
ferent from
what it was
in the Time
of Berenga-
rius.

only pretended will appear in the History of the following Pontifi-
cate.

From the Confession of Faith before us, approved by the Pope and a Council of 113 Bishops, it is manifest, that the Doctrine it contains was the Doctrine or Belief of the Church at that Time. But it would now be Heresy to say, that *the true Body and Blood of our Lord are, not only as a Sacrament, but verily and in Truth, handled and broken by the Priest's Hands, and ground by the Teeth of the Faithful*; the Species only, or the Accidents, being, according to the present Doctrine of that Church, *handled, broken, and ground with the Teeth*. Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences, says, in express Terms, and in direct Opposition to Berengarius's Recantation, that Christ's Body is handled, &c. *only in Sacrament*, that is, in the *visible Species*.^b Joannes Semeca, Author of the Gloss upon the Canon Law, speaks much to the same Purpose: *Unless you understand the Words of Berengarius in a sound Sense*, says he, *you will fall into a greater Heresy than that which he was guilty of; and therefore you must refer all to the Species*ⁱ; which is directly contradicting the Pope and the Council defining, that the Body of Christ, not only as a Sacrament, but verily and in Truth, is handled, broken, &c. Joannes Parisensis was of the same Opinion, as has been shewn by Dr. Allix, in a Dissertation prefixed to that learned Writer's *Determination concerning the Manner of the Existence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar*.^k Thus has the Church of Rome, for all her Infallibility, evidently changed her Belief, with respect to the Manner in which Christ's Body is eaten in the Eucharist.

Decree con-
cerning the
Election of
the Pope.

By the same Council a Decree was issued concerning the Election of the Pope; and it was ordained, that the Cardinal Bishops should elect the first, the Cardinal Priests after them, the Clergy and the People in the third Place, and that the King should, in the last Place, be applied to for his Approbation and Consent. They were to chuse out of the Bosom of the *Roman Church*, if a proper Person was to be found there; if not, out of any other Church, *save the Honour and Respect* (these are the Words of the Decree) *that are due to our beloved Son Henry, who is at present King, and will,*

^b Lombard. Sent. l. iv. dist. 12.
dist. 2. c. Ego Berengarius, &c.

ⁱ Gloss. apud Grat. de Consecratione,
^k Determinatio Johannis Paris. Lond. 1686.

if God please, be Emperor. The same Honour and Respect shall be paid to such of his Successors as shall have personally obtained the same Right of the Apostolic See. ^{Year of Christ 1059.} *Nicholas here supposes the Emperor's Right of confirming the Election of the Pope to be a personal Privilege, granted to the Emperors by the Holy See, tho' we have seen them exercising that Right, for many Ages, quite independent of the Popes. By the same Decree it was enacted, that if a free Election could not be made in Rome, the Cardinals, with the Clergy and Laity, should have a Right to proceed to the Election in what Place soever they should think the most convenient, and that, if the Elect could not be conveniently enthroned, he should nevertheless, by virtue of his Election, be acknowledged by all for true Pope, and as such have full Power and Authority to govern the Roman Church, and dispose of the Goods of the Holy See¹. Till this Pope's Time, the Popedom was not thought to be conferred by Election only, but by Election and Consecration; so that if the Elect died before Consecration, he was not placed in the Catalogue of Popes, as has been shewn elsewhere^m. This Decree, as it is related by *Petrus Damianus*, confined the Election to the Cardinals, and only left to the People, to the Clergy, and to the Emperor, the Power of confirming the Election, which they alone had madeⁿ.*

By this Council several Canons were made against Simony, incestuous Marriages, the Marriages of Priests, and other Abuses, that the preceding Popes had endeavoured, but in vain, to extirpate. They who had been ordained by Simoniac Bishops, but had not paid for their Ordination, were allowed to continue in the Orders they had received; but were all forbidden, on pain of Degradation, to take any Orders, for the future, at the Hands of a Simoniac, though he should not require any Fee or Reward for conferring them. By another Canon Priests, who kept Concubines, were suspended from the Functions of their Office, excluded from sharing with the rest the Income of the Church, and ordered to live without the Precincts of the Church, till they should have atoned for their Crime. By the Eleventh Canon Relations were forbidden to intermarry, and that Prohibition was extended to the Seventh Generation. It is to be observed, that till the Time of the Emperor *Theodosius* there

Other Decrees of this Council.

¹ Chronograph. Virdun. Gratian. Dist. 23. p. 342. ⁿ Petrus Damian. l. 1. ep. 20.

^m See Vol. ii. of this History,

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was no Law, civil or ecclesiastic, forbidding even the Marriage of Cousin-Germans. Such Marriages were indeed forbidden by that Emperor; but *Arcadius* revoked his Law, declaring the Marriage of Cousin-Germans to be lawful, and their Children legitimate; and *Justinian* made this the standing Law of the Empire°. These Marriages however were forbidden by the Church before the Time of Pope *Gregory the Great*, as appears from his Answer to the Monk *Austin*, in the following Words; *The Civil Law of the Roman Empire allows the Marriage of Cousin-Germans, but the Sacred Law forbids it* p.

Legates sent
to reform the
Church of
Milan.

The same Year the Pope sent *Peter Damian*, Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*, and *Anselm*, Bishop of *Lucca*, with the Character of Legates to *Milan*, in order to redress, jointly with *Guido*, Archbishop of that City, several Abuses that prevailed there, especially Simony and the Marriages of Priests. The Legates were, upon their Arrival, well received both by the People and Clergy: But the next Day, when they acquainted them with the Subject of their Legation, the Clergy, loth to part with their Wives, stirred up the Populace against them, giving out that they were come to subject the Church of *Milan* to that of *Rome*; which so incensed the Multitude, that surrounding the Episcopal Palace, where the Legates were lodged, they threatened them with Death, if they offered to subject the Church, that had been ever free, to any other. But *Damian* assuring them, that they had been sent by the holy Pope *Nicholas* for no other Purpose but to correct the Abuses that had crept into their Church, and that they were not impowered to meddle with their Privileges, the Multitude acquiesced, and the Clergy were obliged to submit to the intended Reformation. Several Conferences were held, in the Presence of the Legates and the Archbishop, and after the most diligent Enquiries it appeared, that in so numerous a Clergy as that of *Milan*, scarce one had been ordained, for some Years past, without paying for his Ordination. This greatly embarrassed the Legates, thinking it, on the one hand, unjust to punish some and pardon others, when they were all alike guilty; and on the other not advisable to punish all. They therefore agreed to overlook what was past, and by new Regulations obviate such Disorders for the future. They accordingly obliged the Archbishops and the rest of the Clergy

• Cod. Justin. l. v. tit. 4. de Nuptiis. leg. 19.

• Greg. l. i. ep. 31.

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to promise upon Oath, that in Time to come they would avoid all Simony, and forthwith dismiss their Concubines ⁹.

Year of
Christ 1059.

The same Disorders prevailed in the lower Part of *Italy*, now called *the Kingdom of Naples*; nay, the Incontinence of the Clergy was so notorious there, that scarce a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon was to be found in those Provinces; who kept not publicly his Concubine; and their Concubines, stiling themselves their lawful Wives, had the Assurance to claim the same Privileges and Exemptions as were enjoyed by the Clergy, to whom they belonged. The Pope, therefore, a few Days after the breaking up of the Council at *Rome*, set out for *Apulia*, to assist in Person at a Council, which he appointed to meet at *Melfi*, the Capital of that Province. The Council met in the Month of *August* of the present Year 1059, consisted of an Hundred Bishops, and a great Number of Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons, by whom many severe Laws were issued against the incontinent or married Clergy.

Council of
Melfi.

While the Pope was at *Melfi*, he received a solemn Embassy from the famous *Robert Guiscard the Norman*, who had by this Time reduced all *Apulia*, and extended his Conquests over the greater Part of *Calabria*. He was sensible that it was his Interest, and that of his Nation, to have the Popes for their Friends; and being therefore determined to purchase their Friendship at any Rate, he sent some of his chief Lords to wait upon his Holiness in his Name, and beg an Interview, in order to settle with him some Matters of the utmost Importance to both. *Nicholas* readily agreed to the Proposal, being as desirous as the *Normans* themselves to establish a good Understanding between so warlike a Nation and the Apostolic See. *Robert* therefore, leaving his Generals to carry on the Siege of *Curiato*, a City in *Calabria*, which he had invested, hastened to *Melfi*, attended by *Richard*, Count of *Aversa*, and the Flower of the *Norman* Nobility. They were all received by the Pope with extraordinary Marks of Respect and Esteem, and in a few Conferences the following Agreement was concluded between *Robert* and the Pope, *viz.* that the Pope should absolve the *Normans* from the Excommunication which they had incurred; that he should confirm to *Robert*, to his Heirs and Successors, the Dukedoms of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which he had taken from the *Greeks*, and like-

The Pope
comes to an
Agreement
with the
Normans.

⁹ Petrus Damian. Opuscul. 5.

Year of wife *Sicily*, when he should drive the *Greeks* and *Saracens* out of
 Christ 1059. that Island. As *Richard* of *Aversa* had lately made himself Master
 Conditions of of the City of *Capua*, and driven out *Landulphus* V. the lawful
 this Agree- Prince, it was added in the Agreement, that the Pope should ac-
 ment. knowlege *Richard* for lawful Prince, and confirm to him and his

Heirs the Possession of that Principality. On the other hand *Robert*
 and *Richard* were to own themselves Vassals of the Apostolic See,
 were to swear Fealty to Pope *Nicholas* and his Successors, and *Ro-*
bert was to pay yearly at Easter Twelve Deniers Money of *Pavia*,
 for each Yoke of Oxen^r. The Oath *Robert* took on this Occasion
 was couched in the following Terms, as we read in *Baronius*, who
 transcribed it from a Book lodged in the *Vatican* Library, under
 the Title of *Liber Censuum*: “ I *Robert*, by the Grace of God and
 “ St. *Peter*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and future Duke of
 “ *Sicily*, promise to pay to St. *Peter*, to you, Pope *Nicholas*, my
 “ Lord, to your Successors, or to your and their Nuncios, Twelve
 “ Deniers, Money of *Pavia*, for each Yoke of Oxen, as an Ac-
 “ knowledgment for all the Lands that I myself hold and possess,
 “ or have given to be held and possessed by any of the Ultramon-
 “ tanes; and this Sum shall be yearly paid on Easter-Sunday by me,
 “ my Heirs and Successors, to you, Pope *Nicholas*, my Lord, and
 “ to your Successors. So help me God, and these his holy Gospels.”

Investitures
 granted by
 the Pope to
 the Nor-
 mans.

When *Robert* had taken this Oath, the Pope acknowledged him for
 lawful Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, confirmed to him and his Suc-
 cessors for ever the Possession of those Provinces, promised to con-
 firm to him in like manner the Possession of *Sicily*, as soon as he
 should reduce that Island, and putting a Standard in his Right Hand,
 declared him Vassal of the Apostolic See, and Standard-bearer of the
 Holy Church. From this time *Robert* stiled himself *Dux Apuliae &*
Calabriae, & futurus Siciliae^s. Thus did the Popes begin to dis-
 pose of Provinces and Kingdoms, as their own, to which they had
 no Kind of Right; and it is upon Duke *Robert's* having declared
 himself and his Successors Vassals of the Apostolic See, that the Popes
 to this Day look upon the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* as Fiefs
 of the Church, and claim the Power of transferring them, at Plea-
 sure, from one Nation to another.

^r Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 15.

^s Idem, l. ii. c. 16.

Nicholas II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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The Pope, well pleased with the Agreement between him and the *Normans*, left *Melfi*, and after holding another Council at *Be-neventum*, set out on his Return to *Rome*, attended by a numerous Body of *Normans*, who by his Order laid waste the Territories of *Præneste*, *Tusculum*, and *Nomentum*, obliged the Inhabitants to submit to the Pope, from whom they had revolted, and crossing the *Tyber*, destroyed all the Strong-holds of *Gerard* Count of *Gallera*, who lived chiefly upon Plunder. Thus was *Rome* delivered by the brave *Normans* from the many petty Tyrants that surrounded it on all Sides. From *Rome* the Pope, in the Beginning of the following Year 1060, took a Journey to *Florence*, and from thence went to *Monte Cassino*, where he conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *Oderisius*, the Son of the Count of *Marfi*, who was a Monk in that Monastery, and raised another Monk, named *Martin*, to the Episcopal See of *Aquino*, in the room of *Angelus*, whom he deposed, because he had been made Bishop without passing through the inferior Degrees, and had by his Conduct shewn himself unworthy of that Dignity ^t.

Year of
Christ 1059.

The Pope re-
turns to
Rome at-
tended by the
Normans.

Goes to Mon-
te Cassino.
Year of
Christ 1060.

The Pope on his Return to *Rome* sent *Stephen*, Cardinal Priest, into *France*, with the Character of his Legate, to reform the Abuses that prevailed in the *Gallican* Church, and were connived at by the Bishops in those Parts. The Cardinal assembled a Council at *Tours*, and by the Ten Bishops who composed it, several Canons were made against Simony, the alienating of Church Lands, and the Incontinence of the Clergy, there being as few of that Order to be found in *France* as in *Italy* that did not keep Concubines, and even appear in public with them as their lawful Wives ^u.

Council of
Tours.

The following Year 1061 the Pope assembled a Council in the *Lateran* Palace, at which were present, besides the *Italian* Bishops, *Aldred*, Archbishop of *York*, *Guiso* and *Walter*, both Bishops elect, the former of *Wells* and the latter of *Hereford*. *Aldred* had been translated from *Worcester* to *York*, and it was to receive the Pall at the Pope's Hands that he undertook a Journey to *Rome*. The Two other Bishops accompanied him, in order to be ordained by the Pope himself. *Nicholas* ordained them accordingly, in the Presence of the Bishops of the Council, but would not grant the Pall to *Aldred*, on account of his having been translated from a lesser

Council of
Rome.
Year of
Christ 1061.

^t Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 24.

^u Concil. tom. ix. p. 1109.

See

Year of
Christ 1061.

Nicholas
grants the
Pall to Aldred of
York.

Death of
Pope Nicholas.

See to a greater without his Knowledge, and his not having yet quitted the See from which he was translated. *Aldred*, finding the Pope inflexible, set out with the other Two Bishops on his Return home, but the Highways leading to *Rome* being then greatly infested by Robbers, they were by them stript of all they had, some of their Attendants, who perhaps offered to defend them, being grievously wounded, and used with great Barbarity. In this miserable Condition they returned to *Rome*, and acquainted the Pope with their Misfortune, who was so affected with it, that to comfort *Aldred* he granted him the Pall, but upon Condition that he resigned the See of *Worcester*^w. *Malmsbury* writes, that *Aldred* was arraigned of Simony, that the Pope refused him the Pall on that Account, and that *Tostin* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had accompanied *Aldred* to *Rome*, told the Pope, that unless he complied with the Request of the Archbishop, the King would withdraw the Contribution, which he paid yearly to St. *Peter*^x. But no Notice is taken by any other Writer of the Charge of Simony, or the Threats of *Tostin*; nay *Malmsbury* himself clears *Aldred* from that Imputation, in his Life of *Wulstan*, the Successor of *Aldred* in the See of *Worcester*^y. *Aldred* in his Return to *England* brought Letters from the Pope to King *Edward*, containing a Confirmation of all the Privileges granted by his Predecessors to the Monastery of *Westminster*.

Nicholas did not long survive the holding of this Council; for going soon after it broke up to *Florence*, he died there on the 22d of *July* of the present Year 1061, having governed the *Roman* Church Two Years Six Months and Twenty-five Days, that is, from the 28th of *December* 1058, to the 22d of *July* 1061. But it is to be observed, that the Pope himself reckoned the Time of his Pontificate from the Day of his Inthronation and not of his Election. *Peter Damian*, in One of his Letters to the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, paints this Pope as a Man of Learning, of a sprightly Genius, and of great Resolution in pursuing what he undertook. He was chaste, says that Writer, beyond Suspicion, and his Generosity to the Poor knew no Bounds^z. *Damian* adds, upon the Authority of *Mainard*, who had succeeded the famous Cardinal *Humbert* in the See of the *White*

^w Decem Scriptores, p. 386. Stubbs in Act. Pont. Ebor.

Gest. Pont. Angl. l. iii. p. 271.

^z Petrus Damian. ep. 14.

^x Malmsb. de

^y See Warton Angliæ Sacre, part. xi. p. 20.

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Forest or *St. Rufina*, that the good Pope washed daily the Feet of Twelve poor People, and that if his other Occupations did not allow him to finish that charitable Task in the Day-time, he completed it at Night ^a. We have several Letters of this Pope, most of them addressed to the Bishops of *France*, whom he exhorts to reform the many Abuses that his Predecessors had laboured to root out, especially *Simony* and the Incontinence of the Clergy.

Year of
Christ 1061.

CONSTANTINE DUCAS,
ROMANUS DIOGENES,
MICHAEL DUCAS,
Emperors of the East.

ALEXANDER II. HENRY IV.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

THE Death of *Nicholas* was attended with great Disturbances, the whole City being divided into Two powerful and irreconcilable Factions about the Choice of a new Pope. The One, headed by *Hildebrand*, was for chusing a Pope, as *Henry* was a Minor, without consulting him, and thus excluding him from having any Share in the Election, which belonged, as he pretended, to the Clergy and People of *Rome* alone. With him were almost all the Cardinals, and the far greater Part of the Clergy, thinking the Minority of the King too favourable an Opportunity of shaking off the Yoke to be let pass unimproved. On the other hand the Counts of *Tusculum* and *Galera*, and with them most of the *Roman* Nobility, determined to maintain the just Rights of the King, protested against the iniquitous Proceedings of *Hildebrand* and those of his Party, and sent Deputies to acquaint the King with them. The Deputies carried with them a Crown of Gold for the young King, and were empowered to confer upon him the Dignity of Patrician, in the same manner as it had been conferred on *Charlemagne*; which was investing him with an unlimited Power in *Rome*. Hereupon *Hildebrand*, finding he could not carry his Design into Execution, sent Cardinal *Stephen*, a Monk of *Cluny*, to acquaint the King and the Emptess *Agnes* with the Death of *Nicholas*, and beg Leave to proceed to the Election of a new Pope. This Letter was written in the Name

^a Dam. Opusc. ix. c. 7.

Year of
Christ 1061.

Alexander
II. chosen by
one Party;

and Cadolus
by another;

who marches
to Rome
with an Ar-
my.

of the Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. But the Empress, provoked at the Proceedings of that Party, would not so much as see the Cardinal Legate; and he returned with the Letter unopened. Upon his Return to *Rome* the Cardinals, resolved to wait no longer, chose *Anselm*, a Native of *Milan*, and at that Time Bishop of *Lucca*, flattering themselves that the Empress would approve the Election they had made, as the Elect was well known, and even a Favourite at Court. He was chosen on the First of *October* 1061, and took the Name of *Alexander II.*^a But on what Day he was inthroned we are no-where told. *Robert Guiscard* assisted at this Election, having promised upon Oath to the deceased Pope to second the Cardinals in the Election of his Successor.

The Empress *Agnes*, looking upon the Election of *Alexander* as an Inroad upon the Rights of her Son, not only refused to confirm it, but by the Advice of *Gibert*, Great Chancellor of *Italy*, appointed a Council to meet at *Basil*, in order to declare the Election, made by the Cardinals without the Knowledge of the King, to be null, and to chuse another in his room. This Council consisted of the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and some *German* Bishops; and by them the Election of *Alexander* was annulled, as an open Violation of the Rights of the King, and *Cadolus*, or *Cadolous*, was chosen, with one Consent, on the 28th of *October* of the present Year 1061. He was at the Time of his Election Bishop of *Parma*, but a Man of a most infamous Character, if *Peter Damian* is to be credited: For he not only kept publicly a Concubine, styling her his Wife, but maintained that it was as lawful for a Priest to marry; as for any other Man; and we are told, that it was to get the Laws concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy revoked, that the *Lombard* Bishops so unanimously chose him. He had been arraigned and convicted of Simony in Three different Councils, *viz.* of *Pavia*, *Man-tua*, and *Milan*, but had been forgiven upon owning himself guilty of the Charge, and submitting to the Penance that was enjoined him^b. His Election being approved of by *Agnes* and the young Prince her Son, the *Lombard* Bishops, those especially of *Placentia* and *Vercelli*, took care to supply him both with Men and Money to drive his Antagonist from the Papal Throne. With that View he marched at the Head of a considerable Army from *Basil* strait to

^a Herman. Contract. Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 20.
ix. c. 8.

^b Petrus Damian. Opusc.

Rome,

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Rome, and having, by dint of Money, gained some of *Alexander's* Friends over to his Party, he would have made himself Master of the City, had not *Godfrey*, Duke of *Tuscany*, espousing the Cause of *Alexander*, fallen with a more numerous Army upon his Troops, and obliged him with great Slaughter to raise the Siege, and return to *Parma*. *Cadulus* himself would have been taken Prisoner, had not an Officer of the Duke's Army, whom he bribed with a large Sum of Money, assisted him in making his Escape. Upon his Retreat, *Alexander*, who had fled at his Approach, returned to *Rome*, and was there received, with great Demonstrations of Joy, by the Cardinals, and the rest of the *Roman* Clergy.

Cadulus was preparing to return to *Rome* with a more numerous Army, being strongly supported by the Empress *Agnes*, by the Chancellor *Gibert*, and by all who had any Zeal for the Maintenance of the Imperial Rights. But in the mean time *Anno*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, declaring for *Alexander*, seized on the King, who was then but Twelve Years old, and carrying him to *Cologne*, where he was treated with all the Respect that was due to his high Rank, he assembled a Council at a Place in *Germany* called *Osborium*, and there caused the Election of *Cadulus* to be declared an Intrusion, and that of *Alexander* a lawful Election. As this Council was held in the Presence of the King, *Alexander* was said to have been acknowledged by him for lawful Pope. *Anno* held another Council or Diet, by which he got himself declared Regent and Guardian of the King during his Minority. *Agnes*, finding the Tutelage of her Son, and with it all Power, thus wrested from her by the ambitious Archbishop, retired to *Rome*, and there acknowledging *Alexander*, was absolved by him from the Censures she had incurred by adhering to *Cadulus*. She spent the Rest of her Days in that City, leading a most exemplary Life, and died there in 1077.

Alexander, having now nothing to fear from *Cadulus*, sent *Peter Damian* to *Florence*, with the Character of his Legate, upon the following Occasion. The Bishop of that City, named *Peter*, was arraigned of Simony, and his Father, One of the principal Citizens of *Pavia*, coming to visit his Son at *Florence*, owned, as he was a very simple Man, that he had paid the King a very large Sum for the Promotion of his Son. Hereupon the Monks, headed by the famous

^c Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 20.

Year of
Christ 1063.

St. John Gualbert, Founder of the Order of *Vollumbrosa*, began publicly to inveigh against the Bishop, as a Simoniac and a Heretic, pretending that the Sacraments administered by him were null. This occasioned great Disturbances, and even a Kind of civil War among the Citizens, some siding with the Bishop against the Monks, and some with the Monks against the Bishop. Several Frays happened, and in One some of the Monks were killed; which obliged the Pope to send *Peter Damian* to *Florence*, with full Power to employ what Means he should think the most proper to reconcile the contending Parties. But the Monks, insisting upon the Nullity of the Sacraments administered by the Bishop, as well as by those whom he had ordained, would hearken to no Terms; so that *Damian*, finding them bent upon the Deposition of the Bishop, left Matters as he found them and returned to *Rome*. He was soon followed by several Monks sent by their Brethren to accuse the Bishop to the Pope, and beg his Holiness would remove him, as several Persons chose rather to die without receiving the Viaticum, than to receive it at his Hands, or at the Hands of any whom he had ordained. As the Pope had appointed a Council to meet in the *Lateran* Palace, he told the Monks, that the Cause of their Bishop should be examined by the Bishops of that Assembly, and that if he was found guilty of the Charge, which they brought against him, he should be punished as was prescribed by the Canons. The Monks acquiesced, and upon their Return to *Florence*, One of them, by Name *Peter*, to convince the Citizens that their Bishop was guilty of the Crime they charged him with, offered to undergo a new Kind of fiery Trial, and underwent it accordingly, walking bare-footed and quite unhurt upon a very narrow Path, covered with burning Coals, between Two huge Piles of dry Wood set on fire. We are told, that having dropt his Handkerchief as he thus walked between the Two burning Piles, he returned with great Composure, and took it up from amidst the Flames quite entire. The Reader will find a minute Account of this wonderful Performance in the Letter, which the Clergy and People of *Florence*, who were all Eye-witnesses of it, wrote to the Pope on the Occasion^d. *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Victor III.* speaks

The Monks
apply to the
Pope.

A new Kind
of Ordeal
by Fire.

^d Apud Baron. ad ann. 1063.

of this Trial as a Thing that was notorious, or well known to all the World, and adds, that, at the Time he wrote, the Monk was still living, and Bishop of *Albano*^c. He was from that Time distinguished with the Epithet of *Igneus*, and is stiled by the Writers, who speak of him, *Petrus Igneus*, or *Fiery Peter*. Year of Christ 1063.

The Council, which the Pope had appointed to meet in the *Laticranian* Palace, was held soon after this miraculous Trial, and *Peter*, Bishop of *Florence*, found guilty of the Charge of Simony, was deposed, and forbidden, upon Pain of Excommunication, to exercise thenceforth any Episcopal or even Sacerdotal Functions. It is to be observed, that notwithstanding the authentic Account of the miraculous Preservation of the Monk and his Handkerchief, transmitted to *Rome* by the Clergy and People of *Florence*, the Pope did not condemn the Bishop, till several Witnesses, appearing before the Council, deposed that, to their certain Knowledge, the Bishopric was purchased of the King or his Ministers with a large Sum of Money: a plain Proof that the Pope paid very little Regard to that Account; and his Holiness was better informed of every Circumstance, attending so extraordinary an Event, than we are, or can be, at so great a Distance of Time. This Council consisted of One hundred Bishops and upwards, and the Canons were confirmed by it, which had been issued by the Two preceding Popes *Leo* and *Nicholas* against Simony, the Marriage of the Clergy, incestuous Marriages, that is, Marriages within the forbidden Degrees, or to the Seventh Generation, and the raising of any Man at once, let his Merit be ever so great, to the Episcopal Dignity. By the Fourth Canon it was ordained, that the Clerks should eat and sleep together near the Churches which they served, and that, banishing all private Property, they should enjoy their Income in common^f. To this Canon the regular Canons owe their Institution. The Bishop deposed by a Council at Rome.

In this Council *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny*, complained to the Pope of *Drago*, Bishop of *Maçon*, pretending, in Defiance of the papal Bulls, to exercise Jurisdiction over that Monastery, because situated in his Diocese. *Peter Damian*, who was a Monk himself of the holy Cross of *Avellana* near *Engubio*, and a most zealous Defender of the Monkish Orders, hearing this Complaint, offered to go to *France*, and there maintain the Privileges of the Monastery against the unjust Peter Damian sent to France.

^c Desider. Dialog. l. iii.

^f Concil. tom. ix. p. 1275.

Year of
Christ 1063.

Holds a
Council at
Chalons.

Usurpations of the Bishop. The Pope not only accepted his Offer, but charging him with several other Commissions, vested him with the Character and the Power of his Legate *a Latere*. The Legate on his Arrival in *France* held a Council at *Chalons* on the *Saone*, and having caused the Bulls of the Popes, exempting the Monastery of *Cluny* from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, to be read in that Assembly, the Bishop was by all found guilty of a Breach of the Privileges granted by the Apostolic See to the Monks and their Monastery. But he declaring upon Oath that he never had heard of those Privileges, and at the same time asking the Pope Pardon on his Knees in the Midst of the Assembly, the Legate contented himself with enjoining him to fast Seven Days upon Bread and Water^g. In the same Council the Bishop of *Orleans*, named *Haderic*, was arraigned of Simony. But as he denied that Charge upon Oath, the Legate would not so much as hear his Accusers. However the Crime being afterwards proved, the Pope ordered the Archbishop of *Sens* to excommunicate and depose him^h.

The First Instance of a
plenary Indulgence.

In the mean time the *Normans* were extending their Conquests, not only in *Italy*, but in the Island of *Sicily*, under the Conduct of *Roger*, Brother to *Robert Guiscard*, Duke of *Calabria*. This Year *Roger* gained a memorable Victory over the *Saracens*, Masters of the far greater Part of that Island, and having acquired a very rich Booty, he sent a considerable Share of it to the Pope, sensible that it was his Interest to have the Pope for his Friend, and that he could no otherwise more effectually gain him than by Presents. The Pope, well pleased with his Share of the Spoils, granted to *Roger* in Return, and to all who had assisted him, or who should for the future assist him in driving the *Saracens* quite out of *Sicily*, full Remission of all their Sins, provided they sincerely repented of the Sins they had committed, and were determined to commit none in Time to comeⁱ. This was granting them a *plenary Indulgence*, as it is now called; and it is the first Instance of such a Grant that occurs in History. At the same time the Pope sent a Standard to *Roger*, from the Tomb of *St. Peter*, that he and his Men might fight more courageously under the Protection and the Banner of the Prince of the Apostles^k.

^g Concil. tom. ix. p. 117, et Bibliothec. Cluniac. p. 509.
mian. l. vi. ep. 2.

^h Malaterra. l. ii. c. 33.

ⁱ Petrus Da-
^k Idem ibid.

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The Two following Years Two Councils were held at *Rome* against those, who maintained that the Degrees of Consanguinity ought not to extend beyond Cousin-Germans; and by both Councils all were excommunicated, as Heretics, who held that Opinion. But *Damianus* informs us, that scarce One out of many Thousands paid any Kind of Regard to the Anathemas of those Councils, or to the Canons forbidding Marriages of Relations to the Seventh Generation¹. However they, who held those Marriages to be lawful, were looked upon by the Pope as Heretics, and their pretended Heresy was called the *Heresy of the Incestuous*.

Year of
Christ 1064,
1065.

Two Councils
held at
Rome.

The ensuing Year 1066 arrived at *Rome*, *Giselbert*, Archdeacon of *Lizieux*, sent thither by *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, on the following Occasion. *Edward*, King of *England*, surnamed the *Confessor*, dying on the Fifth of *January* of the present Year, *Harold*, Son to *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and Brother to *Egiltha*, the deceased King's Wife, caused himself to be proclaimed King the very next Day. But *Edward*, having no Male Issue, had promised, and was said to have left by his last Will the Crown to *William*, who was therefore no sooner informed of what had passed in *England*, than assembling the chief Lords and Prelates of his Dukedom, he acquainted them with his Claim to the Crown, advising at the same time with them about the most proper Means of ascertaining it. They were divided in their Opinions, some, in Compliance with the Inclination of the *Duke*, encouraging him to pass over into *England* without Delay, while others strove to divert him from such an Undertaking as too hazardous, it being impossible for a Handful of *Normans* to overcome the whole *English* Nation. Upon their Disagreement the Duke resolved to apply to the Pope; and it was to consult and engage him in his Cause that he dispatched the Archdeacon of *Lizieux* to *Rome*. *Alexander* received him with extraordinary Marks of Esteem, and being informed by him that *Harold* had, by the Breach of an Oath he had taken to *William*, assumed the Ensigns of Royalty, his Holiness not only approved of the intended Expedition, but that he might be protected, in such an Undertaking, by the Merits of *St. Peter*, he sent him the Standard of that Apostle^m. *William*, having received the Standard, crossed over with his Army into *England* in the latter End of *September*, and having defeated

The Pope
sends a Stan-
dard to Wil-
liam Duke
of Norman-
dy.
Year of
Christ 1066.

¹ *Damian*. *Opusc.* xii. c. 29.

^m *Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles.* l. iii.

with

Year of
Christ 1066.

with great Slaughter the Army of *Harold*, who was killed at the first Onset, he was on Christmas Day following 1066 consecrated and crowned King of *England* in the Basilic of *St. Peter, Westminster*. The Ceremony was performed by *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork*, in the Presence of the Prelates, Abbots, and Nobility of the whole Kingdomⁿ.

The Roman
Territories
ravaged by
Richard the
Norman.

Giselbert, the Duke of *Normandy's* Envoy, had scarce left *Rome*, when *Richard*, Brother to *Robert Guiscard*, appeared unexpectedly at the Head of a considerable Body of Troops in the Neighbourhood of that City. The late Pope had granted him the Investiture of the Dukedom of *Capua*, which he had taken from *Landulphus* the lawful Duke. But he now wanted to be made a *Roman* Patrician, a very great Dignity in those Days; and because neither the Pope nor the *Romans* would confer that Honour upon him, he laid waste the neighbouring Country, and threatened *Rome* itself. But the Ministers of the King, hearing of the Ravages he committed, ordered *Godfrey*, Duke of *Tuscany*, to march against him and protect the City. At his Approach *Richard* retired; but the Duke, attended by the Pope himself and all the Cardinals, pursued him as far as *Aquino*, where after several Skirmishes, without any Advantage on either Side, a Peace was concluded, but upon what Terms History does not inform us; we only know that the Pope absolved *Richard* and his *Normans* from the Excommunication they had incurred by ravaging the Lands of the Church. From *Aquino* the Pope repaired to *Monte Cassino*, and there, by the Advice of *Hildebrand*, preferred several Monks to different Employments and Dignities in the Church, and at the same time exempted, by a special Bull, not only their Church and Monastery, but all their Houses and Tenements, from the Jurisdiction of any Bishop but that of the Bishop of *Rome*^o.

Cadulus con-
demned in a
Council at
Mantua.

Year of
Christ 1067.

As *Cadulus* had not yet quitted the Ensigns of the Pontifical Dignity, but was still acknowledged by many for lawful Pope, *Anno*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, proposed the assembling of a Council, in order to put an End by that means to the Schism. This Proposal was not at all relished by *Alexander*; but being persuaded by his Friends to agree to it, a Council was appointed to meet at *Mantua*, and the *Italian* Bishops, those especially of *Lombardy*, were invited to it. *Cadulus* was particularly summoned; but he did not appear, pretend-

ⁿ Orderic. Vital. ubi supra.

^o Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 23.

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ing that nobody had a Power to summon him, since his Election had been approved by a Council, that of *Basil*, and confirmed by the King. The Council however met at the Time appointed, and it being made plainly to appear that *Cadulus* had been preferred to the See by Dint of Money, his Election was declared simoniacal and null, and he forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to exercise thenceforth any Pontifical, Episcopal, or Sacerdotal Functions. *Alexander* too was arraigned of Simony, but having denied the Charge upon Oath, (which he at first shewed himself averse to, as inconsistent with the Dignity of High Pontiff) his Election was declared canonical, and he acknowledged by the whole Council for lawful Pope^p. *Cadulus* however, not intimidated with the Sentence pronounced against him, found means to get one Night, with several of his Attendants, privately into the *Leonine* City, and even to take Possession of the Church of *St. Peter*. This occasioned a general Alarm in the Morning, when those, whom *Cadulus* had brought with him, consulting their own Safety, left him to the Mercy of his Enemies. But *Cencius*, Governor of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, coming seasonably to his Relief, carried him with him into that Fortrefs. There he remained Two Years besieged by the *Romans*, and very ill used by *Cencius*, who to extort Money from him kept him in the Castle, though he might have made his Escape, as the Place was not closely besieged, without exposing himself to the least Danger. *Cencius* at last granted him his Liberty, but not till he had paid down for it Three hundred Pounds Weight of Silver. Having thus ransomed himself, he privately left the Castle in the Night, and in the Disguise of a Pilgrim reached undiscovered the Town of *Baretta*. Some Writers tell us, that to the Hour of his Death he claimed the Pontifical Dignity, that he exercised all the Functions of that Office, and looked upon *Alexander* as Antipope^q. But others will have him to have owned his Fault, to have acknowledged *Alexander*, and to have died a sincere Penitent^r.

The Pope in his Way to the Council of *Mantua* passed through *Milan*, and there canonized *Arialdus* a Clerk of that Church, who had been inhumanly murdered by his Brethren for exposing such of them as were married to the Contempt of the Laity, being a most strenuous Assertor of the Celibacy of the Clergy. *Andrew*, Abbot

^p In Collect. Concil. ad ann. 1064, et apud Bar. ad eun. ann. Schafnaburg. ad ann. 1064.

^r Apud Baron. ubi sup.

^q Lambert.

Year of
Christ 1067.

of *Vallombrosa*, assures us in his Life of this holy Martyr, that having happened to touch his Body after his Martyrdom, his Fingers exhaled the sweetest Odour he had ever smelt^s. On the other Hand *Landulphus* positively asserts, that the Body of *Arialdus* sent forth such a Stench as no Man could bear^t. The Abbot was for the Celibacy of the Clergy, and *Landulphus* against it; and thus may we account for their different Sensations.

The Pope
will not al-
low the
King to di-
vorce his
Wife.

Year of
Christ 1068.

The Pope, upon his Return from *Mantua* to *Rome*, was informed that the King of *Germany* wanted to divorce his Wife *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Otho* an *Italian* Marquis, whom he had married but Two Years before, that he was countenanced therein by *Sigefrid*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, whom he had gained with great Promises, and that a Council was appointed to meet at *Mentz* in order to determine that Affair. Upon this Intelligence he immediately dispatched *Peter Damian* into *Germany* with the Character of Legate *a Latere*, strictly enjoining him to oppose the intended Divorce, and threaten, in his Name, with the Censures of the Church, such as should presume to countenance it by what Title soever dignified or distinguished. The Council met soon after the Arrival of *Damian* at *Mentz*; but the Lords, as well as the Bishops, terrified with the Menaces of the Legate, declared, all to a Man, against the Divorce, as forbidden by the Laws both of God and the Church, and earnestly entreated the King not to encourage with his Example a Crime, which it was his Duty to punish in his Subjects. The King finding his Design thus disapproved by all the Lords and Prelates of his Kingdom, as well as the Pope, acquiesced, but treated the Queen thenceforth with great Indifference, though it does not appear, that he ever afterwards thought of a Divorce^u.

The Archbi-
shops of
Mentz and
Bamberg
summoned to
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1069.

The following Year 1069 was employed by the Pope in redressing several Abuses, and examining into the Conduct of several Bishops arraigned of Simony, or other Crimes. Among the former were the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Bamberg*, whom the Pope therefore summoned to *Rome* to plead their Cause in his Presence. They were both found guilty of the Charge, there being then scarce One Bishop in the whole Church, that did not receive, nay that did not exact, Money for performing the Functions of his Office. However the Pope forgave them, upon their promising upon Oath to avoid all

^s Vit. Ariald. c. 31.
ad ann. 1068.

^t Puricell. l. i. c. 2.

^u Lambert. Schafnab.

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Simony in Time to come. The Historian adds, that the Pope was highly incensed against them, and would have punished them more severely had they not softened him with rich Presents ^{w.} Year of Christ 1069.

The following Year the Pope received an agreeable Message from *William* the new King of *England*, desiring his Holiness to send over Legates to assist at a Council, which he intended to assemble in order to regulate the Affairs of the *English* Church. The Pope, in Compliance with the King's Request, dispatched, without Delay, the Two Cardinals *Peter* and *John*, and with them *Ermenfred*, Bishop of *Sion*, with the Character of his Legates *a Latere*, to assist the King with their Counsel in so laudable an Undertaking. The Legates, says the Historian, were received and honoured by the King like Angels sent from Heaven, and employed by him in Affairs of the utmost Importance. As he kept his Easter this Year at *Winchester*, he appointed a Council to meet there on the Octave of that Festival; and by that Council, or rather by the Legates and the King, who presided at it jointly with them, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was deposed, as unworthy of that Dignity. The Crimes charged upon him were, his holding the Bishoprics of *Winchester* and *Canterbury* together; his intruding himself into the latter in the Life-time of his Predecessor *Robert* the *Norman*, driven out by the *English* Party, and his being stained, says *Ordericus Vitalis*, with Perjuries and Murders ^{x.} The Pope sends Legates into England. Year of Christ 1070.

It seems somewhat strange, that the holding of Two Bishoprics should have been deemed a Crime in *Stigand* worthy of Deposition, when the Pope himself held Two Bishoprics at this very Time, viz. those of *Lucca* and of *Rome*, and several of his Predecessors had kept, as we have seen, the Sees from which they were preferred to the Papal Dignity. As for the Crimes of which *Stigand* is said by *Ordericus* to have been arraigned, no Notice is taken of them by any other Writer; so that they, perhaps, are not mistaken, who suppose him to have been deposed by the King and his Tools the Legates, chiefly to make room for *Lanfranc*, who was a *Norman*, and held in great Esteem both by the Pope and the King; whereas *Stigand* had greatly disoblged the present Pope, as well as several of his Predecessors, by performing, for many Years, all the Archiepiscopal Functions without procuring the Pall from *Rome*; nay he had, on that Account, been often excommunicated, but paying no Kind of Regard to those Ex-

Stigand
Archbishop of
Canterbury
deposed in a
Council at
Winchester.

^w Lambert. Schafnab. ad ann. 1068.

^x Orderic. Vital. l. iv.

Year of
Christ 1070.

communications, he continued to exercise the same Functions as before; and this was the true Reason why the Conqueror chose to be crowned by *Aldred* of *York*, and not by him. He was by the King's Order kept closely confined from the Time of his Deposition to the Hour of his Death.

Other Bi-
shops deposed
in the Council
of Windsor.

In this Council, and another held soon after at *Windsor*, several other Bishops were deposed for their vicious Lives, says *Ordericus*, and their Ignorance of the pastoral Duty *. But it is to be observed, that they, who were preferred in their room, were all either *Normans* or Persons in the *Norman* Interest; which plainly shews that it was not chiefly for their Ignorance, or their vicious Lives, that those Prelates were removed, but because the King wanted to put all the great Trusts in the Church, as he had already done those in the State, into the Hands of his *Normans*, or of other Foreigners, whom he knew to be more zealously attached than the *English* to his Person and Interest.

Lanfranc
Archbishop of
Canterbury.

In the same Year *Lanfranc* was preferred by the King to the See of *Canterbury* in the room of *Stigand*. He was a Native of *Pavia* in *Italy*, the Son of a Lawyer, and had himself been bred to that Profession, but not chusing to pursue it, he left his Country, and went into *Normandy*, where he was soon preferred, for his Learning and Parts, to a Professorship in the City of *Avanches*. He afterwards embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Rey*, was made Prior of that Monastery, and chosen, while in that Station, by *William*, then Duke of *Normandy*, for the first Abbot of *St. Stephen's* in *Caen*, a Monastery which the Duke had built and endowed. He was one of *William's* chief Favourites, was consulted by him in all Affairs of Importance, and looked upon, not undeservedly, as the ablest Man of his Council, and one in whom he could entirely confide. He was no less acceptable to the Pope than the King, on account of the Zeal he exerted against *Berengarius*, in Defence of the Doctrine concerning the Eucharist, defined by the Popes in so many Councils. He at first declined the Archiepiscopal Dignity, and even wrote to the Pope, begging his Holiness would not oblige him to quit the retired Life he had chosen, and undertake a Trust, to which he knew himself unequal. But the Pope insisting upon his Compliance with the Will of the King, he left his Monastery this

* *Orderic Vital*, ubi supra.

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Year, came into *England*, and was consecrated in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* by the Bishops of the Province, and by *Ermenfred* the Pope's Legate, who, at the Request of the King, remained in *England*, while the other Two Legates returned to *Rome* ^f. Year of Christ 1070.

The new Archbishop, after his Consecration, sent a Deputy to *Rome* for the Pall. But apprehending that the Pope might require him to come for it in Person, and being unwilling to undertake so long a Journey, he wrote to *Hildebrand*, by whose Counsels Pope *Alexander* was, as his Four immediate Predecessors had been, entirely governed, begging him to interpose his good Offices in his Behalf. *Hildebrand* answered, that his Holiness, desirous to see him, insisted upon his coming to *Rome*; and that it was necessary he should undertake that Journey, not only to receive the Pall, but to concert Measures relating to other Affairs. Upon the Receipt of this Letter *Lanfranc* set out with *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*, for *Rome*, was received, upon his Arrival there, with all possible Marks of Esteem by the Pope, and even honoured with the Pall that his Holiness himself wore in celebrating Mass. As for the Two other Bishops, they were both deposed, says *Malmsbury*, *Thomas* as the Son of a Priest, and *Remigius* because guilty of Simony, having assisted the King with Men and Money, in his Expedition against *England*, upon Condition that, if the Undertaking was attended with Success, he should be preferred to a Bishopric. The Pope, however, upon their consigning their Crosses and Rings to him, delivered them to *Lanfranc*, with a Power to restore them, if he thought fit, and he restored them accordingly. Thus *Malmsbury*. But as by no Papal Decree, or Canon of the Church, the Son of a Priest was excluded from the Episcopal Dignity, it seems altogether incredible that an Archbishop should have been deposed (if he really was deposed) on that Account. As for *Remigius*, he was, before his Preferment, but a private Monk of the Monastery of *Feschamp* in *Normandy*, came into *England* with the Quota of Men, which his Monastery was obliged to assist the Duke with in his Wars, and being known to him on that Occasion, he was advanced to the See of *Lincoln*, when it became vacant ^h. As in all this there was no Simony, as he could not, being a private

He goes to Rome for the Pall.
Year of Christ 1071.

The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Lincoln said to have been deposed by the Pope.

^f Lanfranc Vita Orderic. l. iv. Chron. Sax. ad ann. 1070. p. 304.

^h Hist. Norm. Scrip. p. 1045.

^g Lanfr. Opera,

Year of
Christ 1071.

Monk, assist the Duke with Men or Money, upon Condition of being made a Bishop, he could not, on that Account, be deposed by the Pope, as guilty of such a Charge.

*The Possession
of the Cathedrals in Eng-
land confirm-
ed to the
Monks.*

As the Clergy here in *England* had formed a Design of driving the Monks from all the Cathedrals, and were therein supported by the Nobility and the King himself, *Lanfranc*, to prevent such a Design from being ever put in Execution, prevailed upon the Pope, during his Stay at *Rome*, to confirm the Possession of those Cathedrals to the Monks by a special Bull, directed to *Lanfranc* himself. In that Bull or Decretal the Pope says he has been informed, that some Clerks, with the Assistance of the secular Power, have conspired to force the Monks away from the Metropolitan, or Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, as well as from all the other Cathedrals in *England*; that such an Attempt is derogatory to the Constitution of *Gregory the Great*, ordering *Austin*, the Apostle of the *English* Nation, to place in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* Men of the same Profession with himself; that the Order, which *Gregory* had given to *Austin*, was confirmed by *Boniface IV.* in a Letter to King *Ethelbert*, and to *Laurence*, the Successor of *Austin*; and that he therefore could not suffer the Monks to be deprived of that Church, or of any other, which had, by his Predecessors, at any time been granted to them. He closes his Letter with thundering out the Sentence of Excommunication against such as should presume, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to disturb the Monks in the Possession of their Churchesⁱ. Thus was the Design of driving the Monks from the Cathedrals entirely dropt.

*The Controversy between
the Archbishops of Can-
terbury and
York concern-
ing the
Primacy
finally deter-
mined.*

Year of
Christ 1072.

While the Two Archbishops continued at *Rome*, the Dispute between them, begun some Years before, concerning the Primacy, was revived, and referred to the Pope, the Archbishop of *York* maintaining, that neither of the Two Archiepiscopal Sees was subject to the other, according to the Plan of *Gregory the Great*, who, he said, had fixed the Primacy of *England* to the Person of *Austin*, and not to his See; that the Two Archbishops should therefore take place according to their Seniority, or Priority of Consecration; and that the Sees of *Dorchester*, *Lincoln*, *Worcester*, and *Litchfield*, had been, from the earliest Times, subject to that of *York*. On the other hand *Lanfranc* produced the Bulls of *Gregory*, *Honorius*, *Vitalian*, and *Sergius*, granting or confirming the Primacy of *England* to *Austin*

ⁱ Eadmer. l. i. Alexand. ep. 49.

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and his Successors in the See of *Canterbury*, which Primacy, he said, ^{Year of} ~~appc~~ calling to the Records of the *English* Church, his See had enjoyed ^{Christ 1072.} for the Space of near Four hundred Years quite undisturbed. The Pope heard both Sides; but not caring to determine in favour of either, he left the final Decision of the Controversy to the *English* Bishops, advising them to convene a Council for that Purpose, and promising to send a Legate to preside at it in his Name. A Council was accordingly held the following Year, at which assisted all the Bishops as well as the Abbots of the Kingdom, and by all the Primacy of *England* was adjudged to the See of *Canterbury*. Their Sentence was confirmed by *Hubert*, Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, sent from *Rome* to preside at that Assembly, and afterwards by the Pope himself. Thus was the Primacy ascertained and confirmed for ever to the See of *Canterbury* ^k.

The Pope charged *Lanfranc* on his leaving *Rome* with a Letter for ^{The Pope's} the King, wherein he commends him for his Piety and Zeal for Re ^{Letter to the} ligion, exhorts him to take all religious Persons, as well as Widows and Orphans, into his Protection; advises him frequently to consult *Lanfranc*, and acquiesce in his Counsels; tells him, that he has vested his beloved Brother with the whole Power of his See; and that his Decisions ought therefore to be received in all Causes as his own, were he present in Person ^{King.} ^l.

The following Year the Pope died, and by his Death a Quarrel was prevented between him and *Henry* the young King of *Germany*, that, ^{The Pope} in all Likelihood, would have been attended with fatal Consequences. ^{cites the King} For the *Saxons*, revolting from that Prince, justly provoked at the ^{of Germany} cruel Treatment they met with from him and his Ministers, sent ^{to Rome.} Embassadors to complain thereof to the Pope, and at the same time ^{Year of} to inform his Holiness, that the King sold all the great Benefices to ^{Christ 1073.} the best Bidder, and paid his Troops with the Money accruing from those Sales. Hereupon the Pope, at the Instigation, as is commonly supposed, of *Hildebrand*, took a Step, which no Pope had ever thought of taking before him. He summoned the King to appear in Person at *Rome*, in order to give there an Account of his Conduct, and clear himself at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See from the Charge brought against him. This Summons was sent by the Archbishops of *Cologne* and *Bamberg*, come to *Rome* to receive the

^k Malmsh. de Gest. Reg. Angl. l. i. Concil. tom. ix. p. 1211.
ep. 10.

^l Alex.

Money

Year of Christ 1073. *His Death.* Money that was there due to the King^m. *Henry* highly resented the Indignity; but his Resentment died with the Pope, whose Death happened soon after, on the 21st of *April* of the present Year 1073, after a Pontificate of Eleven Years Six Months and Twenty-one Days. He is highly commended by all the Monkish Writers for his Zeal in endeavouring to extirpate Simony, for the indefatigable Pains he took to restrain the Incontinence of the Clergy, and for the many Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions he granted to the Monks and their Monasteries. He is said to have wrought some Miracles in his Life-time, and many after his Death. *Leo Ostiensis* assures us, that at *Monte Cassino* he delivered a Demoniac, by commanding the Devil to quit the Body he possessed, and retire to the Place where no Bird flies, and no human Voice ever was heard. The same Writer adds, that at *Aquino* he cured a Woman of her Lameness by giving her the Water to drink, with which he had washed his Hands after the Celebration of Massⁿ. However, neither of these Miracles, nor the holy Life he is said to have led from his tender Years to the Hour of his Death, have procured him a Place in the Calendar, though, perhaps, as worthy of a Place there, as any to whom *Rome* has granted that Honour. He died at *Rome* in the *Lateran* Palace, and was buried in that Basilic.

Some particular Actions of his.

This Pope was the first that granted the Use of the Mitre to Abbots; and *Egelsinus*, Abbot of the Monastery of St. *Austin* of *Canterbury*, was the first upon whom that Mark of Distinction was conferred^o, but it has, since *Alexander's* Time, been bestowed upon many. The same Honour *Alexander* bestowed upon *Uratisslaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who was the first Layman, as *Gregory VII.* tells him in one of his Letters, allowed to wear that respectable Ensign of Dignity^p. The First-fruits were instituted by this Pope, in Imitation of the *Mosaic* Law, enjoining them to the *Jews*. But the Quantity not being settled by the Law, the Rabbies determined that it should not be under the 60th, nor above the 40th Part; and it has therefore been fixed by the Church to the 40th. Of this Pope we have Forty-five Letters, most of them relating to the Subjects of which I have spoken in the History of his Life.

^m Marian. Scot. ad ann. 1075. Abbas Ursperg. ad ann. 1073. Otto Frising. l. vi. c. 34. ⁿ Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 35. ^o Mabill. Præfat. part i. secul. 6. Benedict. p. 17. ^p Greg. vii. ep. 38.

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Year of
Christ 1073.

MICHAEL DUCAS,
NICEPHORAS BOTO-
NIATES,
ALEXIOUS COMNENUS,
Emperors of the East.

GREGORY VII. HENRY IV.
King of Germany.

The Hundred and fifty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

ALEXANDER being dead, *Hildebrand*, who was then Arch-^{Hildebrand} deacon of the *Roman Church*, and held in the highest Esteem ^{chosen.} by the Clergy and People of *Rome*, appointed a Three Days Fast to be kept before they should proceed to the Election of a new Pope. But while they were performing the Obsequies of *Alexander* in the *Lateran Church* the Day after his Death, that is, on the 22d of *April* of the present Year, the People all at once cried out with one Voice, *Hildebrand is Pope, St. Peter has chosen him*; and seizing him, placed him by Force upon the Pontifical Throne^a. Such is the Account he himself gives us of his Election. But others say, that this Tumult was raised by his Friends at his Instigation, and that neither the Cardinals, nor the Clergy, nor the chief Men among the People, had any Share in his Election. However that be, his Election was confirmed the same Day by the whole Body of the Clergy and People, and the Decree confirming it was published in the Church of *St. Peter ad Vincula*. The Elect sent the very next Day after his Election to acquaint the King of *Germany* with it, and beg him not to confirm it, as he thought himself unequal to so great a Charge, and had accepted it much against his Will. He added, that though he had not been able to withstand the earnest Desire, or rather Violence, of the *Roman People*, he had not suffered himself to be consecrated without the Approbation and Consent of the King. Hereupon *Henry* immediately dispatched Count *Eberhard* to *Rome*, with Orders to enquire upon the Spot whether the Election of *Hildebrand* was canonical; and if it was not, to cause another to be chosen in his room. The Count, gained, some say, by *Hildebrand* ^{His Election} or his Friends, wrote to the King in his Favour, who thereupon sent ^{approved by} *Gregory* Bishop of *Vercelli* to *Rome* to confirm the Election by his Authority, and assist, in his Name, at the Consecration of the new Pontiff. Thus was *Hildebrand* solemnly ordained, first Presbyter, as he was only Deacon, and then Bishop, on the 29th of *June*, the

^a Greg. l. i. ep. 3.

Festival

Year of
Christ 1073.
Is consecrated
under the
Name of
Gregory.

Festival of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. At his Ordination he took the Name of *Gregory*, to honour the Memory of the Antipope *Gregory* VI. for whom, as he had been instructed by him in his Youth, he ever retained the greatest Respect and Affection ^b. It is to be observed that *Gregory* VII. was the last Pope, the Decree of whose Election was transmitted to the Emperor or the King before his Consecration, or whose Consecration was performed in the Presence of the Imperial Envoys ^c.

His Birth,
Education,
Employ-
ments, &c.

Gregory was, according to the Author of his Life, by Birth a *Tuscan*, born at *Soana*, in the Diocese of *Siena* ^d. But in the Chronicle of *Verdun* he is said to have been the Son of a *Roman* Citizen, and a Native of *Rome*. Authors are no less divided with respect to his Family than to the Place of his Birth, some making him the Son of a Carpenter, while others will have him to have been descended from an antient and illustrious Family. What we know for certain concerning him before his Promotion is, that he was educated at *Rome*; that he there lived in great Intimacy with the Archpriest *John*, who purchased the Pontificate of *Benedict* IX. and took the Name of *Gregory* VI. that *Gregory* being deposed, and by the Emperor carried Prisoner into *Germany*, he attended him thither; that upon his Death he embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Cluny*, and there continued till *Leo* IX. raised from the Bishopric of *Toul* to the Apostolic See, finding him well acquainted with the Affairs of the *Roman* Church, as he visited that Monastery in his Way to *Italy*, took him from thence with him to *Rome*. By that Pope he was created Subdeacon, and by *Nicholas* II. Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, and was by them, as well as by *Victor* II. and his immediate Predecessor *Alexander* II. employed with Success in several Legations. He was a Man of most extraordinary Parts, of an unbounded Ambition, of a haughty and imperious Temper, of Resolution and Courage incapable of yielding to the greatest Difficulties, perfectly acquainted with the State of the Western Churches, as well as with the different Interests of the Christian Princes. His Views were as boundless as his Ambition. For not satisfied with rescuing the Church from all Subjection to Princes, he undertook to subject all Princes to the Church, and the Church to his See, thus engrossing all temporal as well as spiritual Power to himself. This Undertaking

His Character.

^b Acta Vatican. apud Baron.
denis in ejus Vit.

^c Pagi ad ann. 1073.

^d Paulus Bernrie-

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he steadily pursued, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, and with amazing Success, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Year of
Christ 1073.

Gregory no sooner found himself in the quiet Possession of the Pontifical Throne, than he began to execute the vast Designs he had formed, and *Philip* I. then King of *France*, was the first against whom he exerted the Power which he intended to usurp over all Princes. For being informed soon after his Promotion, that great Disorders reigned uncontrouled in that Kingdom, that the Churches and Monasteries were plundered with Impunity, and that the King himself had his Share in the Plunder, he wrote a very sharp Letter to that Prince, reproaching him therewith, and threatening him with the Censures of the Church, if he did not speedily redress those Abuses^e. The King, upon the Receipt of this Letter, ordered *Alberic*, one of his Chamberlains, then going to *Rome*, to assure his Holiness, that he should thenceforth have no Occasion to complain of his Conduct, that he should prefer none but Persons of Merit to the vacant Sees, nor suffer the Lands of the Church to be held or laid waste by the Laity. As the People and Clergy of *Maçon* had unanimously chosen *Landri*, Archdeacon of *Autun*, for their Bishop, and the King himself had approved of his Election, but would not grant him the Investiture without being paid for it, the Pope sent with his Letter to the King, which I have just mentioned, one to the Archbishop of *Lyons*, another to the Bishop of *Chalons*, ordering them to let the King know, that if he did not allow the Archdeacon of *Autun*, who had been canonically elected, to take Possession of that See without Fee or Reward, he would proceed against him according to the Rigour of the Canons, and that the King should either renounce Simony, or his Subjects, struck with a general Anathema, should refuse to obey him, if they did not chuse to renounce Christianity. In his Letter to *Humbert*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, he commanded him to ordain the Elect without Delay, in spite of any Opposition he might meet with, either from him or even from the King^f. But the Archbishop, and the other Bishops of *France*, not chusing to incur the Displeasure of their Sovereign, the Archdeacon was obliged to undertake a Journey to *Rome*; and he was there ordained by *Gregory* himself.

His insolent
Behaviour
to Philip of
France.

^e Greg. ep. l. i. ep. 35.

^f Idem ibid. ep. 36.

Year of
Christ 1074.
Holds a
Council at
Rome.

Decrees a-
gainst Simo-
ny and the
Marriage of
the Clergy.

The following Year the Pope, determined to oblige the Clergy to observe Celibacy, which several of his Predecessors had attempted without Success, and utterly to extirpate Simony, that is, the Practice of purchasing Bishoprics, and other Benefices, a Practice that prevailed chiefly in *France* and *Germany*, assembled, with that View, a Council at *Rome*, the first Week in Lent, at which were present most of the *Italian* Bishops, and some from *Germany*. In that Assembly the following Decrees were proposed by the Pope, and agreed to at his Request by the Bishops who composed it. 1. That they who had obtained by Simony any Dignity, Office, or Degree in the Church, should be excluded from the Exercise of the Office thus obtained. 2. That they, who had purchased Churches with Money, should quit them, and no Man should thenceforth presume to sell or buy any ecclesiastical Dignity whatever. 3. That the married Clerks should not perform any clerical Office. 4. That the People should not assist at Mass celebrated by them, nor at any other sacred Function. 5. That they who had Wives, or, as they are styled in the Decree, Concubines, should put them away, and none should thenceforth be ordained, who did not promise to observe Continence during his whole Life. These Decrees, so far as they related to the Celibacy of the Clergy, were by them every-where strenuously opposed. They did not even scruple to call the Pope a Heretic, as he taught a Doctrine repugnant to that of our Saviour, *All Men cannot receive this Saying; he that is able to receive it, let him receive it*; and likewise inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Apostle, allowing those, *who could not contain themselves*, to marry, and declaring, that *it is better to marry than to burn*; whereas the Pope, said they, taught, that it was better to burn than to marry. They added, that they, like other Men, were of Flesh and Blood, and consequently liable to the same Infirmities, to the same Temptations; that Men debarred from Pleasures, that were lawful and allowed by the Gospel, would be apt to indulge themselves in such as were forbidden and unlawful; and that, if the Pope obstinately insisted on the Execution of his Decrees, they were determined to quit the Priesthood rather than their Wives; and his Holiness might then see where he could get Angels to govern the Church, since he rejected the Ministry of Men ^b.

^a Concil. tom. x. p. 315. Marian. Scot. ad an. 1074.
in Chron. ad an. 1074.

^b Lambert Schafn.

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In the same Council the Pope solemnly excommunicated *Robert Guiscard*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who, after reducing all the Places, that in the Time of the *Lombards* were subject to the City of *Benevento*, had laid Siege to that City itself, though it belonged to the Apostolic Sec. *Robert* however pursued the Siege, and to be revenged upon *Gregory* for presuming to excommunicate him, invaded the March of *Ancona*, and made himself Master of several Cities there, while his Brother *Richard*, Prince of *Capua*, extending his Conquests to the very Gates of *Naples*, held that City closely besieged ⁱ.

Year of
Christ 1074.
Excommuni-
cates Robert
Guiscard.

Gregory, upon the breaking up of the Council, wrote to all the Bishops of *France* and *Germany* to acquaint them with the Decrees they had issued against Simoniacs and married Clerks, and order them to exert all their Power and Authority in causing them to be strictly observed in all Places under their Jurisdiction. Some Bishops complied so far with that Injunction as to cause the Decrees of the Council to be published throughout their Dioceses, and exhort their Clergy to conform to them. But such was the Opposition they everywhere met with, that they did not think it advisable to exert their Authority, or to use any Kind of Compulsion. Other Bishops, such of them especially as were themselves married, instead of enforcing the Observance of the Papal Decrees, declared them repugnant both to Scripture and Reason. Among these was *Otho*, Bishop of *Constance*, whom the Pope summoned, on that Account, to *Rome*, as an *Encourager of Fornication*, while the Bishop maintained that Vice and all Manner of Uncleanness, abhorred by him, to be encouraged by the Pope. At the same time that *Gregory* wrote to *Otho*, citing him to *Rome* to give there an Account of his Doctrine and Conduct, he absolved the Clergy and People of *Constance*, by a Letter directed to them, from all Obedience to their Bishop, so long as he persisted in his Disobedience to God and the Apostolic Sec ^k.

Summons the
Bishop of
Constance to
Rome.

The Pope, sensible that the Decrees of the *Roman* Council against Simony and the Marriage of the Clergy would meet with great Opposition from the *German* Bishops, as some of them were themselves married, and most of them had purchased their Bishoprics of the Emperor or his Ministers, sent the Bishops of *Palestrina*, *Ostia*, *Coira*, and *Como*, with the Character of his Legates, into *Germany*, to hold

The Pope
sends Legates
into Germa-
ny to hold a
Council
there.

ⁱ Leo Ostiens. l. iii. c. 44.

^k Paul. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 36, 37.

Year of
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Which is op-
posed by the
King and the
Bishops.

a Council there, and persuade those Bishops to confirm the Decrees of the Council of *Rome*. The Legates were received by the King at *Nuremberg*, and treated with all the Respect that was due to their Character. As that Prince was then engaged in a War with the rebellious *Saxons*, and therefore unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, he promised to concur with his Holiness in redressing the Abuses he so justly complained of, and to dispose, for the future, of Bishoprics, and all other Preferments in the Church, as his Holiness should direct. But as to the assembling of a Council in *Germany*, he told the Legates, that he did not think it adviseable to assemble One at that Juncture; and besides, that the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been appointed by the Popes themselves Vicar of the Apostolic See, had alone a Right to preside at all Councils held in *Germany*, and therefore that he could not oblige his Bishops to repair to a Council, at which any other presided. The Legates pretended the Power, which the Popes had granted to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, to have ceased at the Death of the Popes, by whom it was granted. But the *German* Bishops declaring all to a Man, that they would appear at no Council unless summoned to it by the Archbishop of *Mentz*, nor receive any Decrees of a Council, at which he had not presided as Legate of the Holy See, the Legates from *Rome* laid aside all Thoughts of getting the Decrees of the *Roman* Council confirmed in *Germany*. The Four Legates were ordered by the Pope to depose in the Council, which they were to hold, all Bishops convicted of Simony: Of this the *German* Bishops were informed, and therefore, as most of them had purchased their Preferments, they agreed to defeat, and defeated accordingly, the Designs of the Pope and his Legates in the Manner we have seen. *Godfrey*, Archbishop of *Milan*, had purchased that Dignity of the King, and convicted thereof had been excommunicated by the preceding Pope, and all who communicated with him. He, nevertheless, held his See, was acknowledged by the Bishops of *Lombardy* his Suffragans, and being countenanced by the King, performed all the Functions of his Office as lawful Bishop. *Gregory* excommunicated him anew, and charged his Legates to prevail upon the King to break off all Communion with him, since the Sentence thundered out against him, extended to all who communicated with him. But *Henry*, instead of complying with the Desire of the Pope, told the Legates, that he had confirmed the Election of *Godfrey* as agreeable to the Canons, and did not at all doubt but his Holiness

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liness would approve of it when better informed, and therefore hoped that till then he would not insist upon his renouncing the Communion of a Prelate, to whom due Obedience was paid by almost all the Bishops under his extensive Jurisdiction¹.

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The Pope was not at all satisfied with the Behaviour of the King, but dissembling for the present, he wrote a most obliging Letter to him, to thank him for the Kindness and Respect with which he had received his Legates. By the same Letter he acquainted him with his Design of assembling a very numerous Council at *Rome*, the first Week in Lent of the ensuing Year 1075, begged he would oblige the *German* Bishops to repair to it, especially the Bishops of *Constance*, *Strasburg*, *Spire*, *Augsburg*, and *Wirtzburg*, all charged with simoniacal Practices. As for the Affair of the Archbishop of *Milan*, he told the King that he would order his Case to be examined anew, and would readily correct what should be found amiss in the Judgment that had been given against him. He closed his Letter with exhorting the King to concur with him in reforming the Abuses that prevailed in the Church, and were countenanced even by some, whose Business it was to extirpate them, especially the Two reigning Evils, Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy. This Letter is dated the Seventh of *December* 1074.^m

Invites the
German Bi-
shops to a
Council at
Rome.

As *Michael Ducas*, Emperor of the East, had writ to *Gregory*, congratulating him upon his Promotion, the Pope was thereby encouraged to attempt a Reconciliation between the Two Churches; and with that View he sent *Dominic*, Patriarch of *Grado*, as his Legate to *Constantinople*. And that is all we know of that Legation. But from a Letter of the Pope to the Emperor it appears, that he had formed a Design of going in Person into the East, at the Head of an Army, to relieve the Christians, most miserably oppressed by the *Saracens*, who had over-run all *Asia*, and threatened *Constantinople* itself. For in that Letter he tells the Emperor, that the Christians in the East, groaning under the insufferable Yoke of the Infidels, had applied to him for Relief, lest the Christian Religion should be totally extirpated in those unhappy Countries; that deeply affected with their Complaints, and the Miseries they endured, he had endeavoured to stir up all well disposed Christians to relieve them, and even to lay down their own Lives in Defence of their Brethren and the Law of

Designs to
lead an Ar-
my against
the Infidels in
the East.

¹ Greg. ep. 11, 12, 15.

^m Greg. ep. l. ii. ep. 30.

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Jefus Chrift; that the *Italians*, and *Ultramontanes* had hearkened to his Exhortations, and that Fifty thoufand of them and upwards were preparing for this Expedition, determined, if they could have him for their Leader, to march, Sword in Hand, againft the Enemies of God, to the very Sepulchre of our Lord. He added, that the Church of *Constantinople*, divided from the *Roman* on the Subject of the Holy Ghoft, defired to be reunited with the Apoftolic See, and that almoft all the *Armenians*, gone aftray from the Catholic Faith as well as the *Orientals*, waited for the Decifion of St. *Peter* to settle their different Opinions; Circumftances, he faid, that greatly encouraged him to execute the Project he had formed; but nevertheless he would not proceed in it without his Approbation, as he could not promife himfelf the wifhed-for Succefs without his Affiftanceⁿ. *Gregory* wrote at the fame time Two other Letters upon the fame Subject, the One addreffed to all who were willing to defend the Chriftian Faith, the other to all the Faithful of St. *Peter*, efpecially the *Ultramontanes*; and in both he exhorts, in the Name of St. *Peter*, fuch as preferred the Relief of their oppreffed Brethren to their own Eafe, to concur with him in refcuing them from the Tyranny of thofe who oppreffed them. The Execution of this Design *Gregory* had greatly at Heart, as appears from his Letters; but *Henry* being prevented, by the dangerous War he had then on his Hands with the *Saxons*, from lending him any Affiftance, he thought it advifeable to lay it afide. However we fhall fee in the Sequel, this destructive Project profecuted with great Ardor by his Succeffors, under the Name of *the Crufade*, or *the Holy War*.

His haughty
Behaviour to
Philip of
France.

As the fame Diforders, which the Pope had complained of, in the Letter he wrote foon after his Promotion to *Philip*, King of *France*, continued to reign in that Kingdom, and the King had, befides, extorted large Sums this Year from fome *Italian* Merchants carrying their Wares to a Fair in his Dominions, *Gregory* took from thence Occafion to renew his Complaints as well as his Threats in a Letter to the Three Archbifhops, *Manaffes* of *Reims*, *Richard* of *Sexs*, *Richard* of *Bourges*, and to the reft of the *French* Bifhops. In that Letter, dated the Twentieth of *September* of the prefent Year, he begins with lamenting the deplorable Condition, which that once fo glorious and fo flourishing a Kingdom is in his Days reduced to, the Crimes, that were formerly punifhed there, with the utmoft Se-

ⁿ Greg. l. ii. ep. 31.

verit, viz. Perjuries, Sacrileges, Incests, Rapines, Murders, &c. being now connived at. And no Wonder, says he, your King, more worthy of the Name of Tyrant than that of King, not daring to punish in others the Crimes that he himself is guilty of, and encourages by his Example. The Pope here paints the King as the most wicked of Men, as One, who spent his whole Life in the most infamous Debaucheries, treating him with no more Respect than he would have done the meanest of his Subjects. He then exhorts the Bishops to oppose his wicked Measures, to represent to him with all the Liberty, that becomes Men in their Station, the Enormity of his Crimes, and if he remains hardened in his Wickedness, forgetful of his own Glory and the Welfare of his People, to assure him, that he shall not long escape the Censures of the Apostolic Sec. In the mean time he advises the Bishops to separate themselves from his Communion, to interdict the whole Kingdom, and if he does not thereupon amend, to let the whole World know, that he is determined to deliver the Kingdom of *France* from the Oppression it groans under, that is, to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Pope tells the Bishops in the Close of his Letter, that if they betray any Weakness on so important an Occasion, he will suspend them, as the Accomplices of the King in all his Crimes, from every Function of their Office. The Pope wrote another Letter in the same Stile, dated the Thirteenth of *November*, to *William*, Count of *Poitiers*, exhorting him to join the Bishops, and jointly with them press the King to restore to the *Italian* Merchants the Money which he had so unjustly extorted from them, to forsake the vicious Habits of his Youth, and reform his Manners, else he would cut him off from the Communion of the Church, would pronounce the same Sentence against all who should acknowledge or obey him as a King, and would place it upon the Altar of *St. Peter*, that it might there be confirmed every Day^p. He repeated the same Menaces in a Letter to *Manasses* of *Reims*, dated the Eighth of *December* of the same Year^q. The *Gallican* Bishops paid, it seems, as little Regard to the Menaces, as to the Exhortations of the Pope; for it does not appear, that the King corrected any of the Abuses that *Gregory* complained of, or that he was excommunicated either by him or by them.

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Christ 1074.

The Pope had appointed, as has been said, a Council to meet at *Rome* the first Week in Lent 1075; and it met accordingly on the

^p Greg. l. ii. ep. 5.

^q Ibid. ep. 28.

^r Ibid. ep. 32.

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Christ 1075.

Twenty-fourth of *February*, consisted of Fifty Bishops, of a great Number of Abbots, Presbyters and Deacons; and by them were excommunicated Five of the King's Ministers for Simony, that is, for receiving Money of those who had been preferred to vacant Bishoprics. *Gregory* well knew, that they acted therein by the Direction of the King, but flattered himself that the Sentence, pronounced against them, would deter him from such Practices. At the same time *Liemar* Archbishop of *Bremen*, *Garnerius* Bishop of *Strasburg*, *Henry* of *Spire*, *Herman* of *Bamberg*, *William* of *Pavia*, *Cunibert* of *Turin*, were suspended from the Functions of their Office, being charged with purchasing their Dignities, and *Dennis* of *Placentia*, more guilty than the rest, was deposed, without Hopes of being ever restored. Of these Bishops some owned the Sentence to be just, and were absolved by the Pope, while others, determined to keep what they had purchased, paid no Kind of Regard to the Judgment given against them at *Rome*.

Decree against the Marriage of the Clergy confirmed.

By the same Council the Decree against the Marriage, or, as they called it, the Concubinage, of the Clergy, was confirmed, and Ecclesiastics of all Ranks were ordered, on Pain of Excommunication, to quit their Wives or renounce the Ministry; the Laity were forbidden to assist at any Function whatever performed by such of them as did not immediately obey that Decree, and all Bishops were strictly enjoined to see it, in spite of all Opposition, punctually complied with in their respective Dioceses. Pursuant to this Order *Sigefred*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, having assembled his Clergy in Council, acquainted them with the Decree commanding them to quit their Wives, or renounce their Office, and at the same time let them know that, the Order of his Holiness being peremptory, he would spare none, who within the Space of Six Months did not dismiss their Wives, and promise to observe Celibacy so long as they lived. But all, who were present, rising up at these Words, expressed such Indignation and Rage against the Archbishop, that, apprehending his Life to be in no small Danger, he thought it adviseable to withdraw from the Assembly, declaring, that he would never again concern himself about the Execution of a Decree, that was so universally and so strongly opposed, but would leave the Pope to execute it himself, when and how he should think proper. The Decree met every-where else with the like Opposition;

† Greg. l. ii. ep. 32.

• Lamb. Schafn. ad an. 1075. et Marian. Scot. ad eun. an. and

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and at *Cambray* they, who opposed it, carried their Resentment to such a Height against the Party that declared for it, as to burn one alive for diverting the People from assisting at the Functions performed by such of the Clergy as continued to live with their Wives [†].

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Christ 1075.

By this Council was issued the famous Decree, taking the Nomination and Investiture of Bishops out of the Hands of Princes. Most of the Western Princes, if not all, claimed at this Time the Right of nominating all the Bishops in their respective Dominions, and of confirming and investing those in their Bishoprics, whom the People and the Clergy had elected, when their Princes had left them at Liberty, as they frequently did, to elect whom they pleased. This Right they had enjoyed undisputed Time out of Mind, probably ever since the establishing of their different Kingdoms upon the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, and their Conversion to Christianity. Hence we find *Gregory the Great* in the many Letters which he wrote to the Christian Kings of *France*, in the latter End of the Sixth Century, frequently complaining of those Princes for bestowing Bishoprics upon Persons that were not equal to so great a Charge, and entreating them to chuse Men that were. But he no-where objects to their Right of Nomination. And truly it was but reasonable, that so great a Trust should be placed in such Persons only as were acceptable to the Princes under whom they were to live, that is, in such as the Princes themselves had elected, or whose Election, when made, with their Permission, by others, they had approved and confirmed. At this time, and for some Ages before, they expressed their Approbation by putting the Elect in Possession of the Temporalities of his See, which was done by their delivering to him a pastoral Staff, or a Crozier, and a Ring. And this was the Ceremony known by the Name of *Investiture*; and the Elect was not ordained till it was performed. As the corrupt Practice of exacting Money for the Investiture, nay and disposing of Bishoprics and other ecclesiastical Preferments to the best Bidder, had begun to prevail among Princes, *Gregory*, under Colour of redressing those Abuses, but in Truth to make the Clergy independent upon the Princes, and dependent upon himself, as *Mezeray* has very justly observed [‡], got the Bishops of the Council to pass the following Decree: “ If any one shall
“ henceforth accept of a Bishopric or Abbey from a Layman, let him

Decree against
Investitures.

† Greg. l. iv. ep. 20.

‡ Mezeray ad an. 1095.

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“ not be looked upon as a Bishop or Abbot, nor any Respect be paid to him as such. We moreover exclude him from the Grace of St. *Peter*, and forbid him to enter the Church, till he has resigned the Dignity that he has got by Ambition, and by Disobedience, which is Idolatry. And this Decree extends to inferior Dignities. In like Manner if any Emperor, Duke, Marquis, Count, or any other Secular Person whatever, shall take upon him to give the Investiture of a Bishopric, or of any other ecclesiastical Dignity, he shall be liable to the same Sentence w.” This Decree was a Declaration of War against all Christian Princes: for *Gregory* could not suppose that they would tamely part with a Right, which they looked upon as One of the most valuable Jewels of their Crown, and no Pope had ever yet disputed. But he thought it a Point well worth contending for, well worth all the Confusion, civil Wars, Rebellions, Bloodshed, that such a Decree might occasion, since he would, by carrying it into Execution, engross to himself the Disposal of the whole Wealth of the Church, and thus make the Clergy every-where independent of their Princes, and dependent upon him alone, as he alone could reward and prefer them. It would have been commendable in the Pope and the other Prelates of the Church to prevent, so far as in them lay, the Vice of Simony, that is, the Sale of Bishoprics, Abbies, and other Church Preferments, but too common at this Time. But with what Justice could he or they deprive all the Princes of a Right, which they enjoyed by immemorial Prescription, for the ill Use some of them made of it? The setting of ecclesiastical Benefices to Sale was by all deemed Simony. But many were of Opinion, that when Princes invested Ecclesiastics in their Benefices, that is, when they put them in Possession of their Temporalities, they might without Simony exact a *moderate* Share of those Temporalities for the Service of the State. But *Gregory*, not satisfied with condemning that Opinion, declared it Simony, Heresy, and Idolatry (and he might with as much Reason have declared it Murder, Incest, or Adultery), in a Prince, or any Layman, to give, and in an Ecclesiastic to receive Investiture at his Hands, whether anything was exacted on that Occasion or not. And thus was an Usage, which the most holy Bishops, Abbots, and all the other Dignitaries of the Church, had hitherto looked upon as quite innocent, and

w Hugo Flaviniac. in Chron. Virdun. ad an. 1074.

had,

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had, for several Ages, universally submitted to, without the least ^{Year of} ~~Scruple~~, made by this Pope a most enormous Crime. The Popes ^{Christ 1075.} themselves were not, for many Ages, consecrated till the Decree of their Election was signed by the Emperor; which was a Ceremony of the same Nature with that of Investing. And was *Gregory* himself, were so many of his Predecessors, who complied with that Ceremony, all Simoniacs, Heretics, Idolaters? It was ordained by the first Council of *Orange* in 441, that, if any one should found and endow a Church, he should have a Right to nominate a Clerk to officiate in it, which was putting him in Possession of the Revenues annexed to his Office ^x; and by Two of the Laws of *Justinian*, all Founders of Churches and their Heirs are allowed the same Privilege ^y. If this was no Simony, and *Gregory* himself would have hardly said that it was, it could be no Simony in a Prince, nor in any other Layman, to nominate a proper Person to the Bishopric which he or his Predecessors had founded, and put him in Possession of the Revenues with which they had endowed his See. In the Sequel we shall see the Popes, when they had once wrested Investitures out of the Hands of Princes, exacting larger Sums from those, upon whom the smallest Benefices were conferred, than ever had been done by Princes; insomuch that their Friends and Advocates could no otherwise excuse their Extortions from Simony, but by maintaining what was Simony in others was no Simony in the Pope.

Gregory took care to acquaint the King with this Decree, re- ^{Gregory} ^{acquaints the} ^{King with it.} proaching him at the same time in the Letter, which he wrote to him on that Occasion, with still keeping and employing the Ministers, whom he had excommunicated, with suffering the Bishops, whom he had deposed, to continue in their Sees, with neglecting to publish in his Dominions the Decrees of the former Council of *Rome* against Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy, and lastly with protecting *Godfrey*, the Usurper of the See of *Milan*, and communicating with the *Lombard* Bishops his Adherents, though cut off by the Apostolic See from the Communion of the Church. In the Close of his Letter he forbids the King thenceforth to meddle at all with ecclesiastical Preferments, to grant Investitures, or dispose of vacant Churches, upon any Pretence whatsoever, and threatens him

^x Concil. Arauf. i. c. 9.

^y Novel. 123. c. 18. & 57. c. 2.

Year of with Excommunication, if he does not comply with the Decree ba-
Christ 1075. nishing such unlawful Practices from the Church ^z.

*The King's
Letter in An-
swer to the
Pope's.*

Henry highly resented the insolent Behaviour of the Pope; but unwilling to quarrel with him, as he was still engaged in War with the *Saxons*, and then upon the Point of marching against them, he dissembled his Resentment, and taking no Notice of the Decree with respect to Lay Investitures, told him that he would thenceforth conform to the Canons in the Disposal of Bishoprics and other ecclesiastical Preferments; that he would cause the Decrees against Simony and the Incontinence of the Clergy to be published throughout his Dominions, and punctually complied with, and that upon his Return from *Saxony* he would send a solemn Embassy to *Rome* to settle the Points in Dispute between his Holiness and him to their mutual Satisfaction ^a.

*Conspiracy
against the
Pope.*

In the mean time a Conspiracy was formed at *Rome* against the Pope, and the Person employed to put it in Execution was *Cincius*, or *Quintius*, as others call him, the Prefect, or the Son of the Prefect of the City; and the Pope very narrowly escaped with his Life. For while he was performing at Christmas the Service of the Night in the Church of *St. Mary the Greater* according to Custom, attended by a small Number of Clerks, a Troop of armed Men rushing unexpectedly in, with *Cincius* at their Head, fell upon the Pope, beat him most unmercifully, gave him a dangerous Wound in the Forehead, and dragging him by the Hair out of the Church, carried him to the House of *Cincius*, with a Design, as was supposed, to convey him out of *Rome*. But the Magistrates being immediately informed of what had happened, Guards were placed by their Order at the Gates, Trumpets were sounded in the different Quarters of the City to alarm the People, who thereupon crowding from all Parts to the Capitol, flew from thence to the House of *Cincius*, and surrounding it on all Sides, threatened to put him and all who were in it to the Sword, if he did not forthwith set the Pope at Liberty. *Cincius*, intimidated at the Menaces of the enraged Multitude, threw himself at the Pope's Feet, and upon his forgiving him, which he did very readily, only enjoining him, by way of Penance, to visit the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, he granted him his Liberty. The People received him with loud Shouts of Joy, and at his Request attended

^a Arnulph. l. iv. c. 6.

^a Paulus Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 6.

him

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him back, covered with Blood as he was, to the Church from whence he was taken, to end the Service he had begun the Night before. ^{Year of Christ 1075.} In the mean time *Cincius* and his Accomplices made their Escape. But the People plundered his House, and laid it level with the Ground; and he was himself condemned to a perpetual Banishment^b. *Guibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, is supposed to have been the chief Author of this Attempt, flattering himself that, if *Gregory* could be removed out of the Way, the King, whose Favourite he was, would raise him to the Pontifical Chair in his room.

The King had hitherto carefully avoided coming to an open Rupture with the Pope, lest he should raise new Disturbances in *Germany* before the *Saxons* were reduced. But having this Year gained a complete Victory over those Rebels, he resolved to put a Stop to the Papal Incroachments upon the undoubted Rights of his Crown. He accordingly named several Bishops to the vacant Sees, granted them the Investiture, as he had done before, without the least Regard to the Decree of the late Council, nay, and driving some from the Sees to which they had been preferred by the Pope, unknown to him, appointed others of his own Nomination in their room. *Gregory*, no less provoked at the Conduct of the King than the King was at his, wrote a long Letter to him, complaining of his Disobedience to the Decrees of the Holy See; of his disposing of Bishoprics to Persons utterly unknown to him; of his Want of Respect for the See, and the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles. He exhorts him to correct the Errors which he has been led into by wicked Counsellors, to dismiss them, such of them at least as had been justly cut off from the Communion of the Church; to employ in their room Men of Piety, and to follow their Advice and Directions. He tells the King in the Close of his Letter, that Laymen must not presume to dispose of ecclesiastical Preferments, all Lay Investitures being forbidden by a Decree of the late Council of *Rome*, which, he said, all Princes must receive and comply with^c. The Direction of this Letter was, *Gregory Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to King Henry Health and Apostolic Benediction, if he obeys the Apostolic See, as becomes a Christian King.*

As the King, determined to assert the indisputable Rights of his Crown, paid no Kind of Regard to the Exhortations or Letters of ^{The Pope sends Legates into Germany.}

^b Paulus Bernried. ubi sup.

^c Greg. l. iii. ep. 10.

Year of
Christ 1076.

the Pope, *Gregory*, not satisfied with writing to him, sent Legates this Year into *Germany* to summon him, in his Name, to appear in Person at *Rome* on the Monday of the second Week in Lent, in order to give there an Account of his Conduct, and clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The Legates added in delivering this Message, that they were ordered by his Holiness to let him know, that if he did not obey the Summons, and appear on the Day appointed, he would on that very Day be cut off with an Anathema from the Body of the holy Apostolic Church. The King, provoked beyond measure at such an extraordinary Summons, and no less at the haughty Behaviour of the Legates, drove them with Ignominy from his Presence, and in order to render the Sentence of Excommunication, with which he was threatened by the Pope, ineffectual, resolved to get him deposed in a Council before he pronounced it. With that view he wrote a circulatory Letter to all the Bishops and Abbots of his Dominions, to complain of the unworthy Treatment he had met with from *Hildebrand*, and desire them to meet at *Worms* on Septuagesima Sunday, in order to concert jointly with him the most proper Means of delivering the Church from the Tyranny of a Man, who, in Defiance of the Canons, exercised a Power over them that none of his Predecessors ever had claimed, nay and but too plainly shewed, by his whole Conduct, that he aimed at nothing less than to subject both the Church and the State to his lawless and arbitrary Will. The King added, that the Welfare of both, and their Safety as well as his own, depended upon the Resolution they should take when assembled in Council. *Theodoric*, Bishop of *Verdun*, and *Engelbert*, lately nominated by the King to the Archbishopric of *Treves*, wrote likewise circulatory Letters to all the Bishops and Princes of *Germany*, fraught with bitter Invectives against *Gregory*, as one who stuck at nothing to gratify his boundless Ambition.

The Pope deposed in the Council of Worms.

The Bishops and Abbots met, in Compliance with the King's Invitation, at the Place and Time appointed, and Cardinal *Hugh*, surnamed *the White*, whom the Pope had deposed for his irregular Conduct but a few Days before, arriving very seasonably for the King's Design at that Juncture, was invited by him to assist at the Council. The Cardinal brought with him an Account of History

^d Lambert Schafn. ad an. 1076.

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of the Pope's Life from his tender Years to the Time of his Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity; and scarce is there a Crime, which in that Piece he was not said to have committed, either before or after his Election. He was even charged with Magic, and with invoking the Devil. This Piece was read in the Council, and likewise Letters, which the Cardinal produced, as written by the Cardinals, the Senate and the People of *Rome*, complaining to the King of the Pope, and demanding his Deposition. But the Zeal which the People all shewed for his Safety on Occasion of the Attempt of *Cincius*, incline me to believe those Letters to have been forged. Be that as it will, the Council declared, that *Hildebrand, who styled himself Gregory VII. was no Pope; that he had not, nor had ever had, the Power of loosening and binding.* This Sentence was readily signed by all the Bishops but *Adelbert of Wirtzburg*, and *Heriman of Metz*, thinking that no Bishop, much less the *Roman* Pontiff, should be condemned without being heard, or without proper Accusers and competent Witnesses. But *William*, Bishop of *Utrecht*, having satisfied them that they must either sign the Condemnation of *Gregory* or renounce their Allegiance to the King, they acquiesced, and signed it with the rest ^e.

The Sentence of the Council of *Worms* was, by the King's Order, immediately communicated to the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and of the March of *Ancona*, who thereupon assembling at *Pavia*, not only confirmed it, but swore upon the Gospel, that they would no longer acknowledge *Gregory* for Pope. The Bishops met at *Worms* wrote a Letter to the Pope, before they parted, to acquaint him with the Judgment they had given against him, as well as the Motives that had induced them to give it, and order him to quit the See, which he had usurped in Defiance of the received Laws of the Church, and resign a Dignity, to which he had no Kind of Right. The King wrote at the same time Two Letters, much to the same Purpose, the one to *Gregory* himself, the other to the Clergy and People of *Rome*. In his Letter to the Pope he reproached him with Pride, Ambition, Simony, Perjury, Usurpation, and all the other Crimes that were laid to his Charge in the Council, and commanded him to descend from the Throne, to which he had raised himself by the most unlawful and wicked Means. In his Letter to the Clergy and People of

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The Bishops
of Lombardy
confirm the
Sentence of
the Council
of Worms.

The King and
Council write
to the Pope.

^e Lambert Schafn. ubi supra.

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Christ 1076.

Rome he dwelt chiefly upon the haughty and imperious Behaviour of *Gregory*, upon his treating not only his Fellow Bishops, but the greatest Princes of the Earth, as his Slaves or Vassals, and requiring them to pay a blind Obedience to his Command, as if all Power, temporal as well as spiritual, were lodged in or derived from him. He therefore exhorted them to join him in delivering the Church from the Slavery which it was threatened with, and they could not avoid, if *Hildebrand* was suffered any longer to enjoy and exercise his usurped Power ^f.

Their Letters
delivered to
him.

With these Letters, and that from the Bishops of the Council of *Worms*, *Roland*, Clerk of the Church of *Parma*, was dispatched to *Rome*, but ordered to wait there till the opening of the Council, which the Pope had appointed to meet the first Week in Lent, and then to deliver them in the Presence of all the Bishops who composed it. In Compliance with that Order *Roland*, arriving at *Rome* some Days before the assembling of the Council, continued there, without discovering even to any of the King's Friends what Business he was charged with, or by whom he was sent. But no sooner did the Bishops meet, than entering the Council he delivered the Letters into the Pope's own Hand, adding aloud, so as to be heard by the whole Assembly, *The King my Master, and with him all the Ultramontane and Italian Bishops, command you instantly to quit the See of St. Peter, which you have usurped, and the Government of the Roman Church*: Then turning to the Roman Clergy, *You are summoned*, said he, *to appear before the King on Whitsunday next, to receive a Pope and a Father from his Hand, since this is not a Pope but a ravenous Wolf*. At these Words *John* Bishop of *Porto* starting up, cried out aloud, *Seize him*; while the other Bishops, more zealous than he, encouraged the Prefect, who was present with a Band of the *Roman* Militia, to *dispatch him*; which they would have done, had not the Pope interposed while they were rushing upon him with their drawn Swords ^g. *Gregory* was so far Master of himself as to receive that Message without betraying the least Concern or Resentment. He only declared, addressing himself to the Assembly, that nothing should ever deter him from correcting the scandalous Abuses that prevailed in the Church, by whomsoever patronized, and that he was ready even to suffer Martyrdom, and shed

^f Lambert Schafn. ubi supra. Paul Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 67. ^g Ibid.

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the last Drop of his Blood in so good a Cause. The Bishops, applauding his Firmness and Constancy, assured him, all to a Man, that they would stand by him, not only at the Expence of their Dignities, but, if necessary, of their Lives^b.

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The next Day the Pope caused the King's Letter, and that of the Assembly of *Worms*, to be read in full Council, and having, after an inflaming Speech against the King and the Bishops of that Assembly, desired all who were present, and had the Honour of the Apostolic See at Heart, to assist him with their Advice at so critical a Juncture, they all cried out with one Voice, *You have been chosen, most holy Father, by us and by Heaven to govern the Church in these perilous Times; exert therefore the Power that Heaven has put into your Hands for her Defence; suffer not the Blasphemer, the Usurper, the Tyrant, the Apostate* (meaning the King) *to insult her with Impunity; let the Sentence you pronounce against him be such, as may for ever deter others from treading in his Footsteps.*

The King excommunicated and deposed in a Council at Rome.

Gregory, thus encouraged by the Bishops of his Party, rose up, and having commanded Silence, thundered out, with great Solemnity, the Sentence of Excommunication against the King in the following Words addressed to St. *Peter*: “Blessed *Peter*, Prince of the Apostles, hear me your Servant, whom you have nourished from his Infancy, and have delivered this Day from the Hands of the Wicked, who hate me because I am faithful to you, you are my Witness, you and our Lady the Mother of God, and your Brother St. *Paul*, that your holy *Roman* Church placed me against my Will in your See, and that I had rather died an Exile than raised myself to it by unlawful Means, or the Favour of Men. But being by your Grace placed in it, I persuade myself that it pleases you that I should rule the Christian People committed to your Care, and exert the Power that God has given to me, as holding your Place, the Power of binding and loosening in Heaven and on Earth. In this Persuasion it is, that for the Honour and Defence of your Church, on the Part of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by your Power and Authority, I forbid King *Henry*, the Son of the Emperor *Henry*, who with an unheard of Pride has insulted your Church, to meddle henceforth with the Government of the *Teutonic* Kingdom or of *Italy*. I absolve all

The Sentence pronounced by the Pope.

^b Paul. Bernried. *ibid.*

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“ Christians from the Oath of Allegiance, which they have taken,
“ or shall take to him, and forbid any one to serve him as a King.
“ For he, who attempts to lessen the Honour of your Church, de-
“ serves to forfeit his own. And because he has refused to obey,
“ as becomes a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord, whom
“ he has forsaken, by communicating with excommunicated Persons,
“ but despised the Counsels which I gave him for his Welfare, and
“ endeavoured to raise Divisions in your Church, I now anathematize
“ him in your Name, that all Nations may know, that thou art
“ *Peter*, that upon this Rock the Son of the living God has built
“ his Church, and that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against
“ it ¹.” Here *Gregory* forbids in the Name of St. *Peter*, what that
Apostle had expressly commanded, *viz.* Obedience to Princes, and
even to Tyrants and Persecutors of the Christian Name. For *Nero*,
that Monster of Wickedness, and bloody Persecutor, was King or Em-
peror, when he commanded the Faithful to *submit themselves to every*
Ordinance of Man, whether it be to the King, &c. At the same time
the following Bishops were excommunicated by Name, *viz.* *Sige-*
frid Archbishop of *Mentz*, *William* Bishop of *Utrecht*, and *Rubert*
Bishop of *Bamberg*, who had distinguished themselves above the rest
in the Council of *Worms*. The other Bishops, who had assisted at
that Assembly, and wickedly conspired against the Apostolic See,
were all summoned to *Rome* to plead their Cause there, on pain of
having the same Sentence pronounced against them, if they did not
personally appear at the appointed Time, that is, at the Festival of
St. *Peter* ^k. With the *German* Bishops those of *Lombardy*, who had
confirmed the Sentence, were all cut off from the Communion of
the Church, and threatened with an Anathema, if they did not,
within a limited Time, repent of their Wickedness, and return to
their Duty.

Several Bi-
shops excom-
municated
with the
King.

Some adhere
to the Pope,
and some to
the King.

When the Council broke up, *Gregory* took care to acquaint the
whole World with the Decree, excommunicating and deposing the
King, by a Letter addressed to all the Faithful, to which that Decree
was annexed. Upon its being published in *Germany*, several Princes,
whom the King had disobliged, begun to cabal and form Parties
against him, not doubting but they should be supported, let them
attempt what they would, by the Pope. Several Bishops, even some

¹ Paul. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 70.

^k Lambert. ad ann. 1076.

who had assisted at the Council of *Worms*, withdrew from his Communion, as soon as they heard that he was excommunicated by the Pope in a Council, and that they themselves would incur the same Sentence if they communicated with him. However the Bishops of *Lombardy*, and with them *Guibert* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, declared openly for the King, nay and assembling at *Pavia*, confirmed the Judgment given at *Worms*. Thus was all *Germany*, and great Part of *Italy*, divided into Two opposite Parties, some zealously espousing the Cause of the Pope, and others maintaining no less zealously the Cause of the King.

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As the Bishops, who adhered to the King, maintained that the Power of excommunicating, vested in the Pope, did not extend over Sovereign Princes, *Herman* Bishop of *Metz* proposed that Question in a Letter to *Gregory*, who immediately answered it, claiming in his Letter the Power of deposing as well as excommunicating Princes. "As our Saviour, says he, did not except Kings when he granted to *St. Peter*, and in him to his Successors, the Power of binding and loosening, why may not Kings be bound and loosened, be excommunicated and absolved by him and his Successors, as well as the meanest of their Subjects?" The Words of our Saviour have been understood by the Popes as spoken only to *St. Peter*, and in him only to them. But the Fathers understand them, as I have frequently shewn, as addressed to all the Apostles, and in them to all Bishops: And from thence it evidently follows, that, by virtue of the Words of our Saviour, the Pope has no other Power over Princes than what is common with him to all other Bishops. As for the Power he claims of deposing Princes, and divesting them of their Dominions, he alledges the Example of Pope *Zachary*, who, he says, deposed King *Childeric*, and a Bull of Pope *Gregory the Great*, granting certain Privileges to an Hospital at *Autun*, with this Clause, *If any King, Priest, Judge, or any secular Person whatever, shall transgress this our Constitution, let him be deprived of his Power, Honour, and Dignity.* But that Pope *Zachary* did not depose *Childeric* I have shewn in the Life of that Pope; and as to the Clause on pain of forfeiting their Dignity, it is now generally supposed to have been added after that Pope's Time. It is certain, at least, that by no Pope were Princes more respected than by *Gregory the Great*, nor more readily obeyed as his *Lords* and *Masters*; for thus he frequently styled them. In the same Letter the Pope tells *Her-*

Gregory
claims the
Power of
deposing
Princes.

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man, that he has empowered some Bishops to absolve such Lords or Bishops as shall separate themselves from the Communion of the King, but that he has reserved the Absolution of the King himself to the Apostolic See. This Letter is dated the Twenty-fifth of *August* of the present Year 1076, and was written at *Tivoli*¹.

His Letter
to the Ger-
mans.

Gregory wrote a few Days after a long Letter to all the Bishops, Lords, and Faithful of the *Teutonic* Kingdom, to justify his Conduct with respect to the King, which had given Offence, even to his Friends. In that Letter he enumerates the many Disorders that reigned in the Church, and were countenanced by the King; complains of his selling Bishoprics and Abbies to Persons, who had nothing else to recommend them but their Money; insomuch that there was scarce a Bishop in all his Dominions who had not been simoniacally preferred to that Dignity; charges him with having led, from his Youth, a Life unbecoming a Prince, and even a Christian; enlarges on the great Pains he has taken to reclaim him from his wicked Ways, on the ungrateful Return he had made for the Kindness he had shewn him, on his obliging almost all the Bishops of *Italy*, and most of the Bishops of *Germany*, to rebel against the Apostolic See, and thus raising, as far as in him lies, a dangerous Schism in the Church. For all these Crimes he has cut him off, he says, as a rotten Member, from the Body of the Faithful, and deprived him of the Power, which he had so much abused. He closed his Letter with exhorting those, to whom it was addressed, to join him against the Enemies of *St. Peter* and his Church, and declaring all excommunicated who, siding with the King, countenanced him in his Wickedness^m.

A powerful
League form-
ed in Germa-
ny against
the King.

This Letter, and another the Pope wrote soon after encouraging the Faithful of *St. Peter* to join against the avowed Enemy of that Apostle and his Church, had the wished-for Effect; and a very powerful League was formed in *Germany* in favour of *Gregory*. The leading Men in that League were *Rudolph* Duke of *Suabia*, *Guelph* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Berthold* Duke of *Carinthia*, *Adelberon* Bishop of *Wirtzburg*, and *Adelbert* Bishop of *Worms*. The Pope, encouraged by so powerful a Confederacy, began to think of causing another to be raised to the Throne, in the room of *Henry*; and he wrote accordingly a Third Letter to the Princes, Bishops, and People of *Ger-*

¹ Greg. l. iv. ep. 2.

^m Paul. Bern. in vit. Greg. c. 80.

many,

many, empowering them to chuse another King, if *Henry* did not repent of his Wickedness, and render himself, by a sincere Repentance, worthy of being replaced on the Throne, which he had deservedly forfeited, by his Disobedience to and Contempt of the Apostolic Secⁿ. Upon the Receipt of that Letter the Princes of the Empire who sided with the Pope, and some Bishops, had a Conference at *Ulm*; and it was there resolved, that a general Diet should be convened at *Tribur*, near *Mentz*, on the Twenty-sixth of the ensuing *October*, in order to deliberate about the most proper Means of preventing the Evils, which the Disagreement between the Pope and the King might produce, and maintaining the Peace of the Empire. This Resolution they notified to the Pope, and to all the *German* Lords, who thereupon met in great Numbers at the Place and Time appointed. The Pope, highly approving the Resolution they had taken, sent Two Bishops, *viz.* *Sigebard* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and *Altman* Bishop of *Padua*, to assist at the Diet in his Name, with a strict Charge to acquaint him with every thing that passed in it, and suffer no one to be chosen in the room of the deposed King without the Knowledge and Consent of the Apostolic Sec. Most of the *German* Lords had, it seems, been ill used by the King, and by them he was painted in the Diet as a Monster of Wickedness, as One, who paid no Kind of Regard to the Laws human or divine; they charged him in particular with having banished from his Court all Persons of Birth and Probity, and raised to the first Dignities Men of the meanest Extraction, and even plotted with them to extirpate the Nobility; with employing his Arms against his own Subjects, while the Barbarians enjoyed a profound Peace, and made unmolested daily Incur-sions into the Empire; with applying the Revenues of Churches and Monasteries to profane Uses, maintaining therewith numerous Armies and building Strong-holds, not to awe the Enemies of the Empire, but to enslave a free People; with oppressing the Poor, the Widows, and Orphans, and treating his Subjects in general more like a Tyrant than the Father of his People. They concluded, that the only Remedy against so many Evils was to chuse another King, One capable of restoring good Order, and saving the State by that Means from imminent Ruin.

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The German
Lords assem-
ble at Tri-
bur.

In the mean time the King advancing with the few Friends who still stood by him, to *Oppenheim*, a little above *Tribur*, on the oppo-

Hard Con-
ditions which
the King is
forced to sub-
mit to.

* Paul. Bern. in vit. Greg. c. 82.

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site Side of the *Rhine*, sent frequent Messages from thence to the Diet, promising to redress the Evils they complained of, to satisfy those, whom he had any ways injured, and thenceforth to employ the Power, that God had put into his Hands, in procuring the Happiness of his Subjects and the Welfare of the State. He added that, if they questioned his Sincerity, he was ready to confirm his Promise upon Oath, and even to give Hostages for the Performance. The Lords of the Diet answered, that they had been too often deceived by him to trust to his Oaths or Promises, that, as he was excommunicated, they could not correspond with him, and that being by the Pope absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and even forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge him for King, they were determined to chuse another in his room. As the *German* Lords had brought along with them, for their own Defence, many of their Vassals well armed, some of them were for crossing the *Rhine*, and falling upon the King, who was only attended by his Guards, and a small Number of Friends. But the Lords of *Suabia* and *Saxony* thought it more advisable to refer the Decision of the Dispute between them and the King to a General Diet of the whole Empire, at which the Pope should be present in Person, and, in the mean time, oblige the King to resign all Power and Authority. This Expedient was approved and readily agreed to by the Rest of the Lords of the Diet; and Deputies were immediately sent to let the King know, that, notwithstanding the ill Treatment they had met with from him, they would not take upon them to judge or condemn him, but would leave him to be judged, to be condemned or acquitted by the Pope, in a General Assembly of all the Princes of the Empire; that they had agreed the Assembly should be convened in the City of *Augsburg*, at the Purification of the blessed Virgin, that is, on the Second of *February*, that the Pope should be invited to it, and that his Holiness, after hearing both Sides, should pronounce the definitive Sentence for or against him. They added, that if he did not obtain Absolution before the Anniversary of his Excommunication, that is, before the Day on which he was excommunicated, he should be for ever excluded from the Throne. The Deputies were ordered to insist upon his declaring whether he agreed to these Terms, and if he agreed to them, to require him, in their Name, to satisfy them of his Sincerity, by forthwith dismissing all the excommunicated Persons about him, by withdrawing his Garrison from *Worms*, and restoring

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restoring the Bishop of that City to his See. To these Terms they added others still harder; *viz.* that he should disband his Army, and retire to *Spire* with the Bishop of *Verdun*, and such other Bishops or Ministers as had not been excommunicated by the Pope; that he should lead there a private Life, divesting himself of all the Ensigns of Royalty; that he should not at all meddle with public Affairs, nor enter the Church. To these Terms, shameful and hard as they were, the King was obliged to submit: and he accordingly dismissed, without Delay, the Archbishops of *Cologne*, and with him the Bishops of *Bamberg*, *Strasburg*, *Bale*, *Spire*, *Lausanne*, *Ceitz*, *Osnabrug*, and all, who by adhering to him had, on that Account, been excommunicated by the Pope. He complied with the other Terms, in like Manner, and quitting the Marks of his Dignity, left the Administration of public Affairs to the Lords of the Empire.

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As the King had nothing so much at Heart as to be absolved from the Excommunication, his Friends being afraid to lend him any Assistance so long as he continued under that Sentence, and his Enemies availing themselves of it to stir up the People against him, he resolved to procure his Absolution, at any Rate, before the Meeting of the Assembly at *Augsburg*. Being therefore informed that the Pope had left *Rome*, and was coming into *Germany*, in order to assist at that Assembly, he set out, in great Haste, from *Spire*, with his Wife and his Son, yet an Infant, to meet him and obtain Absolution, if by any Means he could, before he entered *Germany*, where he apprehended his Enemies would leave nothing unattempted to divert him from granting it. As he undertook that Journey in the Depth of Winter with a very small Retinue, and was obliged to pass through *Burgundy*, and from thence to cross the *Alps* into *Italy*, all the other Roads being guarded by his Enemies, he underwent such Hardships as no Prince, perhaps, had ever undergone before him. On his Arrival in *Savoy*, Count *Amadeus*, Lord of that Country, received and entertained him suitably to his Rank, but would not allow him to pass, though nearly related to him, till he had yielded to him a rich and fruitful Province bordering upon his Dominions. As the Winter was this Year extremely severe, so severe that the *Rhine* continued frozen over from the Beginning of *November* to the First of *April*, the King and his Retinue found themselves often in imminent Danger, as they crossed the *Alps*, of being buried in the Snow, or falling down the Precipices, the Roads being very slippery and scarce passable.

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passable on account of the Ice. The Queen and her Female Attendants were placed upon Hides, and thus drawn over the frozen Snow by their Guides, Natives of the Country. Some of the King's Train perished in this Passage, and others lost, by the excessive Cold, the Use of their Limbs. But the King himself arrived safe in *Italy*; and no sooner was his Arrival known there, than the Counts and Bishops of *Lombardy*, highly dissatisfied with the Pope, repaired to him from all Parts, treated him with all the Respect that was due to his Dignity, acknowledged him, notwithstanding his being deposed by the Pope, for their lawful Sovereign, and encouraging him to revenge the base Treatment he had met with from *Hildebrand*, who called himself Pope, offered to assist him in so just an Undertaking both with Men as well as with Money.

How received
there.

The Pope
retires to
Canusium.

In the mean time *Gregory* had got as far as *Lombardy* in his Way to *Augsburg*, attended by the famous Countess *Mathilda*. She was the Daughter of *Boniface*, Marquis of *Tuscany*, by the Countess *Beatrix*, descended from a Sister of the Emperor *Otho II*. *Mathilda* married *Geffrey* the younger, Duke of *Lower Lorraine*, but leaving her Husband she spent, with his Consent, most of her Time in *Italy*, where she was possessed of very large Territories, having succeeded her Father, who died without Issue Male, in the Dukedom of *Tuscany*, which he had greatly extended, and left in a most flourishing Condition. She was nearly related to the King, but nevertheless declared from the Beginning for the Pope, and being become this Year her own Mistress by the Death of her Husband, she devoted herself entirely to *Gregory*, transacted nothing without consulting him, followed in every thing his Directions, and never parting from him, accompanied him wherever he went. Her Intimacy with *Gregory*, and the extraordinary Regard he, on all Occasions, shewed for her, gave Occasion to many scandalous Reports, that were industriously propagated by the Pope's Enemies, especially the Ecclesiastics, of whom he exacted the strictest Celibacy. Their Attachment for each other was not, perhaps, criminal, but it is allowed, even by those who most admire this Pope, to have been, at least on his Side, as he had so many Enemies, very imprudent. Be that as it will, the Pope no sooner heard of the Arrival of the King, and the Reception he had met with from his *Italian* Subjects, than he retired, by the Advice of *Mathilda*, to *Canusium*, a Strong-hold in the Diocese of *Reggio* that belonged to her, it being publicly reported that the King was come to depose

depose the Pope, and cause another to be chosen in his room. While the Pope continued in that Fortress, well guarded by the Troops of *Mathilda*, many *German* Bishops as well as Laymen, who had been excommunicated for acknowledging the King and communicating with him after he had been deposed and excommunicated, repaired to him barefooted and in Hair-cloth, confessing their Fault, and beseeching his Holiness to forgive and absolve them. *Gregory* told them that Pardon would not be refused to such as sincerely repented of their Sin, but that their long Disobedience required a long and severe Penance. They all answered with one Voice, that they were ready to undergo what Penance soever his Holiness should think fit to impose upon them; and the Penance he thereupon enjoined them was, that the Bishops should be shut up separately in little Cells; that during their Confinement there they should not be suffered to speak to any one; that they should daily fast till the Evening, and be then allowed a spare Meal. Penances were likewise imposed upon the Laymen, suited to their Strength and different Ages, but of what Nature they were, History does not inform us. The Pope, having thus tried them for some Days, and being fully satisfied of their Sincerity, sent for them, and after a slight Reprimand absolved them, but upon Condition, that they should not communicate with the King till he had satisfied the Holy See. He allowed them however to speak to him in order to reclaim him.

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Several ex-
communicat-
ed Bishops
apply to him
and are ab-
solved.

In the mean time the King, instead of putting himself at the Head of the Troops, which the *Italian* Lords had assembled to assist him in the War they advised him to declare against the Pope, repaired with a small Retinue, to a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Canusium*, and from thence sent Deputies to the Pope to acquaint him with his Arrival in *Italy*, and at the same time entreat his Holiness to absolve him from the Excommunication, since he had for that Purpose undertaken so long and so difficult a Journey in so severe a Season. The Deputies added, that it was not out of any Zeal for Religion, but merely out of Spite and Envy that the *German* Lords accused him, and therefore begged his Holiness would not give Ear to their Accusations. The Pope answered, that it was against the Laws of the Church to try a Person accused in the Absence of his Accusers, that if the King was conscious to himself of his own Innocence, he needed not be afraid to appear at *Augsburg* at the appointed Time, and that he would there give Judgment, after hearing both Sides, according

The King
sends Depu-
ties to ac-
quaint the
Pope with
his Arrival
and sue for
Absolution.

The Pope's
Answer to
the Deputies.

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*The King
treated with
the utmost In-
dignity.*

to the Laws of the Church, without suffering himself to be biased to either Side by Affection or Harred. The Deputies replied, that the King, their Master, did not decline the Judgment of his Holiness, whom he knew to be a most uncorrupt and impartial Judge; but as the Year of his Excommunication was near expiring, and the Lords were determined to exclude him for ever from the Throne if he was not absolved within the Year, he only begged to be absolved, being ready to give what Satisfaction soever his Holiness should require, and willing not only to answer his Accusers at the Time and Place he should appoint, but to keep the Crown or resign it, as he should by him be found guilty or innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge. The King could offer no more; but the Pope, still pretending to question his Sincerity, could not be prevailed upon to grant the Absolution he so earnestly sued for, till the Countess *Mathilda*, *Hugh* Abbot of *Cluny*, and some of the first Princes of *Italy*, interposing in his Favour, took upon them to answer for his performing what he had promised. The Pope yielded at last to their Prayers and Entreaties, but upon Condition that the King should deliver up to him his Diadem with all the other Ensigns of Royalty, and own himself unworthy of the Name of King, and of the Honour that was due to that Dignity. To this Condition the Deputies objected as too hard, and only calculated to drive the King to Despair, and being therein seconded by the Countess *Mathilda* and the other Mediators, the Pope was, in the end, with much ado prevailed upon by them to admit the King to his Presence. *If he is truly penitent*, he said, *let him come, and by his Obedience atone for his long Disobedience to the Decrees of the Apostolic See.* This Answer was no sooner communicated to the King than he flew to *Cannusium*, but upon his Arrival at the first Gate of the Castle, (for it was surrounded by a triple Wall) he was told by the Guards that he must dismiss all his Attendants, and enter it alone. He did so, not without some Reluctance, as he thus put it in the Power of his avowed Enemy to keep him Prisoner and dispose of him as he pleased. The First Gate being shut, he was required at the Second to divest himself of all Ensigns of Royalty, to put on, in their stead, a coarse Woollen Tunic, and to wait barefooted in that Garb, in the Month of *January*, till it should please the Pope to command the Third Gate to be opened in order to admit him to his Presence. In that Condition he returned, and was forced to wait Three whole Days fasting from Morning to Night,

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Night, and imploring the Mercy of God and the Pope. The hard hearted Pope shewed not the whole Time the least Mark of Compassion; but the Persons of Distinction, who were with him, greatly affected with the Sufferings of the King, and touched with Pity in seeing so great a Prince reduced to so deplorable a State, began to complain of the unparalleled Severity of *Gregory*, more becoming, they said, a Tyrant than an Apostolical Father or Judge. Hereupon the Countess *Mathilda* interposing anew, and freely acquainting the Pope with what was said of him even by his Friends, prevailed upon him to suffer the King to appear before him the Fourth Day, when after several Complaints on both Sides *Gregory* absolved him upon the following Conditions.

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1. That he should appear at the Time and the Place, which the Pope should appoint, to answer, in a General Diet of the *German* Lords, the Charge brought against him, and should own the Pope for his Judge. 2. That he should stand to his Judgment, should keep or resign the Crown as he should by him be found guilty or innocent, and should never seek to revenge himself upon his Accusers. 3. That till Judgment was given and his Cause was finally determined, he should lay aside all Badges of Royalty, should not meddle, upon any Pretence whatever, with public Affairs, and should levy no Money upon the People but what was necessary for the Support of his Family. 4. That all, who had taken an Oath of Allegiance to him, should be absolved from that Oath before God as well as before Men. 5. That he should for ever remove from his Presence *Robert* Bishop of *Bamberg*, *Udalric* of *Cosheim*, and all evil Counsellors together with them. 6. That if he should clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge and remain King, he should be ever obedient and submissive to the Pope, and concur with him, to the utmost of his Power, in reforming the Abuses that Custom had introduced, against the Laws of the Church, into his Kingdom. Lastly, if he failed in any of these Conditions, his Absolution should be null, he should be deemed guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge as if he had owned them, should never again be heard, and the Lords of the Kingdom, absolved from their Oaths, should be at full Liberty to elect another King in his room. As the Day, on which the King had been excommunicated the Year before, was at hand, he was glad to submit to those Terms, hard as they were, in order to obtain Absolution. He signed them accordingly, and promised upon Oath to observe them,

Upon what
Terms ab-
solved.

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especially to stand to the Judgment of the Pope, and to keep or lay down the Crown as by him he should be judged worthy or unworthy to wear it. The Pope, not satisfied with the King's Oath, required the Countess *Mathilda*, and the rest, who had interposed in his Favour, to swear upon Reliques that he should perform all he had promised. This Request was readily complied with by all but the Abbot of *Cluny*, who, being forbidden by the Rules of his Monastery to take an Oath, only engaged his Word for the King's faithfully observing the Terms which he had agreed to. Hereupon *Henry* obtained, in the end, the dear-bought Absolution, on the Twenty-fifth of *January* of the present Year 1077.

The Pope
takes the Sa-
crament as a
Proof of his
Innocence.

When that Ceremony was over, the Pope celebrated Mass, and desiring the King, and all who were present, to approach the Altar after Consecration, he took the consecrated Host in his Hand, and turning to the King addressed him thus: " I long ago received Letters from you and from those of your Party, charging me with
" having raised myself to the Apostolic See by Simony, and having
" polluted my Life, before as well as after my Episcopacy, with other
" Crimes, for which I ought, according to the Canons, to have
" been for ever excluded from holy Orders: and though I could dis-
" prove these Calumnies with the Testimony of those, who very
" well know what Life I have led from my Infancy, and of those
" who were the Authors of my Promotion to the Episcopal Digni-
" ty; yet that I may not be thought to rely more upon the Judg-
" ment of Men than upon that of God, and that no Room may be
" left for the least Suspicion of Scandal, let the Body of our Lord,
" which I am going to take, be this Day a Proof of my Innocence;
" let God absolve me by his Judgment if I am innocent, and strike
" me suddenly dead, if I am guilty." Having spoken this, he took Part of the Host, the People congratulating him with loud Shouts of Joy upon his Innocence so incontestably proved. But the Pope, having commanded and obtained Silence, addressed the King anew with the following Words; " Do, my Son, if you please, what
" you have seen me do. The *German* Lords accuse you
" daily to us of many enormous Crimes, for which they say you
" ought not only to be removed from the Administration of all
" public Affairs, but excluded for ever from the Communion of the
" Church, and even from human Society. As I wish you well,
" and you have implored the Protection of the Apostolic See in
" your

“ your Distress, do what I advise you : If you are conscious to your-
 “ self of your own Innocence, and know that you are falsely and
 “ maliciously accused, deliver the Church from that Scandal, and
 “ yourself from all Perplexity, as the Issue of human Judgments is
 “ very uncertain. Take the other Part of the Host, that your Inno-
 “ cence thus proved may silence your Enemies, that I may become
 “ your warmest Friend, and the *German* Lords being reconciled with
 “ you by my Means, you may be replaced on the Throne, and the
 “ wished-for Tranquility restored to the State.” The King, no less
 astonished than perplexed at such an unexpected Proposal, deliberated
 some Time with the Lords and Bishops about him, and then, not
 caring to undergo such a Trial, he declined it, saying, that his En-
 mies would pay no Kind of Regard to any-thing he should do in their
 Absence, and therefore desired the Pope to leave the Affair undeter-
 mined till the Time of the General Diet °.

Year of
Christ 1077.

The King de-
clines that
Proof.

In the mean while the *Lombard* Lords, who had encouraged the
 King to revenge the Injustice the Pope had done him, and had of-
 fered to assist him, in so just an Undertaking, to the utmost of
 their Power, hearing of the Treatment he had met with from the
 Pope at *Canusium*, and the Terms he had agreed to, began to com-
 plain as loudly of him as of the Pope himself. They reproached him
 with Meanness, Treachery, and Cowardice, in forsaking his best
 Friends, and acting in direct Opposition to their unanimous Opinion
 and Advice, in order to be absolved from the Excommunication of
 a Man, whom the Bishops of *Italy* had excommunicated as guilty
 of Simony, of Murders, Adulteries, and many other Crimes. So
 great was the Indignation the King's mean Behaviour raised in most
 of the *Lombard* Lords, that they even resolved no longer to acknow-
 ledge him for their King, but to place his Son, yet an Infant, on the
 Throne, to carry him to *Rome*, and cause him to be there crowned
 Emperor by the Pope, whom they should chuse in the room of the
 Usurper *Hildebrand*. The King strove to appease them, by repre-
 senting to them the Necessity he was under of being absolved within
 a limited Time, which, he said, the Pope had availed himself of, to
 trample upon him in the Manner he had done. But finding that
 many of the *Lombard* Lords daily forsook him, and that such as
 continued with him threatened to leave him, if he did not break

The Lombard
Lords highly
provoked at
the mean Sub-
mission of the
King.

° Lambert. Scha'n. Domnizo in Vit. Mathild. Paulus Bernied. in Vit. Greg.
 & Greg. lib. iv. ep. 12.

Year of
Christ 1077.

He resolves
to break the
Treaty made
with the
Pope.

the shameful Treaty he had made with the Pope, he was in the End prevailed upon to break it; and he recalled accordingly the Bishops, as well as the Laymen, whom the Pope had obliged him to dismiss, declared that he would not appear at the Diet appointed to meet at *Augsburg*, and inveighing, with great Bitterness, against the Pope in an Assembly of the *Lombard* Lords, exhorted them to revenge, under his Command, the Injuries they had received, as well as he, from the Usurper of the Apostolic See. By this Speech the King regained the Affection of all the *Lombards*, his Army was daily reinforced with new Troops flocking to him from all Quarters, and he soon found himself in a Condition to face any Force that the Pope's Friends in *Italy* could bring against him.

A Diet appointed to meet at Forcheim.

The Pope continued all this while with the Countess *Mathilda* at *Canussum*, not thinking it safe to venture out, and much less to undertake his intended Journey into *Germany*, in order to assist at the Diet of *Augsburg*. The *German* Lords therefore appointed a Diet to assemble at *Forcheim*, in the Bishopric of *Bamberg*, on the 13th of *March*, in order to deliberate about the Election of a new King, since *Henry* had, by a manifest Breach of the Treaty made with the Pope, prevented the Meeting of a Diet at *Augsburg*, and thereby forfeited his Crown. This their Design they immediately communicated to the Pope, desiring him to send Legates to assist at that Assembly in his Name, if he could not conveniently be present at it in Person. Upon that Intelligence the Pope dispatched a Cardinal, named *Gregory*, to acquaint the King with the Resolution of the *German* Lords, and press him to repair to *Forcheim* at the Time appointed, that his Cause might be there finally determined by the Judgment of the Apostolic See. The King answered, that as he had never been in *Italy* since his Accession to the Crown, he had so many Affairs to settle there, that he could not possibly leave the Country so soon; that his *Italian* Subjects, who had long wished to see him, would think themselves neglected and despised, should he continue so short a Time with them; and, besides, that the Time fixed for the Meeting of the Assembly was so near that he could not be present at it, though nothing detained him, upon so short a Notice.

Henry declines appearing at it.

Rudolph Duke of Swabia chosen King.

This Answer convinced the Pope that the King was determined not to stand to the Terms of the Agreement; and he therefore sent *Bernard* Cardinal Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and *Bernard* Abbot of a Monastery of Six hundred Monks at *Marseilles*, with the Character

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of his Legates, to acquaint the *German* Lords therewith, and assist at the Diet in his Name, as he could not assist at it in Person, all the Passes being guarded Night and Day by the King's Troops. The Assembly met soon after their Arrival, and the Pope's Letters being read, whereby he exhorted all, who had the Welfare of the State at Heart, to join in such Measures as should seem to them the most expedient at so critical a Juncture, and the most proper to procure it, they resolved to proceed, without further Delay, to the Election of a new King, and they elected accordingly, with one Consent, *Rudolph* Duke of *Suabia*, but upon Condition that his Son should not succeed him, unless he was chosen by the People. The Kingdom of *Germany*, as we may observe here by the way, was not quite hereditary, the Nobles, Bishops, and People being free to elect which of the deceased King's Sons they judged the most worthy of the Crown, though, generally speaking, they chose the eldest; and thus was the Kingdom of *Germany* hereditary, the Election being confined to the Royal Family, and yet elective, since the People might chuse which of the King's Sons they liked best. But in the present Diet at *Forcheim* it was decreed, that the Election should no longer be restrained to the Royal Family, and the Electors should elect whomsoever they thought the most worthy of, and the best qualified for, so great a Trust. *Rudolph*, thus elected, was consecrated by the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, in the Presence of the Pope's Legates, and all the Lords of the Assembly, who, acknowledging him for their lawful Sovereign, took an Oath of Allegiance to him as such^P.

Some modern Writers will have *Gregory* to have been the chief Author of the Election and Promotion of *Rudolph*, and to have confirmed to him the Royal Dignity, as soon as he heard that the *German* Lords had chosen him. But *Gregory* himself solemnly declares in One of his Letters, that *Rudolph* was chosen unknown to him; “ The Ultramontane Bishops and Princes, says he, hearing that he (the King) did not perform what he had promised, and despairing of his Amendment, chose without my Advice, I call upon you *Peter* and *Paul* to witness it, Duke *Rudolph* for their King, who immediately gave me Notice of his Election, assuring me that he had been forced to undertake the Government, but was ready

*Gregory not
the Author of
his Election.*

^P Lambert. Schafn. Paul. Bernried. in Vit. Greg. c. 93.

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Christ 1077.

“to obey me in all Things.” It plainly appears, from a Letter which the Pope wrote to his Two Legates in *Germany* as soon as he heard of the Election of *Rudolph*, that he himself was at a Loss to determine, which of the Two Kings had the better Title to the Crown. For in that Letter he orders the Legates to procure from both a Safe-Conduct for him, that he may come into *Germany* and determine upon the Spot which of the Two had Justice on his Side. He adds, if either of the Kings shall oppose this our Resolution, and refuse us a free Passage into *Germany*, we command you to cut him off, by the Authority of *St. Peter*, from the Communion of the Church, and to withstand him, if necessary, even at the Expence of your Lives, remembring, that it is Idolatry not to obey the Apostolic Sec, and that the blessed *Gregory* decreed that Kings, who presumed to transgress its Commands, should forfeit their Dignity. Acknowledge him therefore for lawful King, who shall humbly obey our Commands, assist him to the utmost of your Power, and command, in our Name, the Bishops, Abbots, Clerks, and Laymen, dwelling in these Parts, to serve and obey him as their lawful Sovereign. This Letter is dated the last of *May* 1077.

The Pope enters into an Alliance with Robert Guiscard and the Normans.

In the mean time *Gregory*, sensible that the Disagreement between him and the King would end in an open Rupture, and that the Forces of *Matilda* alone were not capable of making head against those of the King, left *Canussum*, and returning to *Rome*, undertook from thence a Journey to *Apulia*, with a Design to gain *Robert Guiscard* and the *Normans* over to his Party. *Robert* met the Pope at *Aquino*, and a Treaty was there concluded between them upon the following Terms; viz. That the Pope should absolve *Robert* from the Excommunication which he had incurred, by laying Siege to *Benevento*, and grant him the Investiture of the Dukedoms of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, leaving his Claim to *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and Part of the March of *Fermo*, which *Robert* had seized, unjustly as the Pope pretended, for the present undetermined; and that *Robert* should, on his Side, swear Fealty to *Gregory* and the Apostolic Sec; that he should assist him, to the utmost of his Power, to hold, acquire, and defend the Rights of *St. Peter*, should protect him against all his Enemies, and should, upon his Death, if he survived him, declare for the Person who should be legally chosen by

* Greg. l. vii. ep. 14.

† Idem, l. iv. ep. 23.

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the Cardinals, the Clergy, and the People of *Rome*. This Treaty was signed and sworn to by *Robert*, and the other *Norman* Chiefs. *Anna Comnena*, *Guillelmus Apuliensis*, and *Richardus* Monk of *Cluny*, who flourished about the Middle of the following Century, write, that *Gregory* promised, on this Occasion, to confer the Imperial Dignity upon *Robert* or his Son *Boemund*, and that this was one of the Articles of the Treaty ^{Year of Christ 1077.}

From *Apulia* *Gregory* returned to *Rome*, and there in a Council, consisting of about an Hundred Bishops, which he had appointed to meet the first Week in Lent of the present Year 1078, he excommunicated and deposed *Tetald* Archbishop of *Milan*, preferred by the King to that See while his Predecessor was still living, and with him *Arnold* Bishop of *Cremona*, convicted of Simony, *Guibert* Archbishop of *Ravenna*, striving to withdraw himself from all Subjection to the Apostolic See, and *Roland*, who had been rewarded with the Bishopric of *Trevigi* for notifying to the Pope the Decree issued by the Council of *Worms* against him, and commanding him, in their Name, to quit the See he had usurped ^{Fourth Council of Rome. Several Bishops excommunicated and deposed. Year of Christ 1078.}. By the same Council all Ordinations made by excommunicated Persons were declared null, and Excommunications were thundered out against those who detain or plunder, or any-ways injure, such as are shipwrecked. As to the Affairs of *Germany* it was resolved, that Legates should be sent thither to convene an Assembly of all the Prelates and Lords of the Kingdom, in order to determine, jointly with them, which of the contending Parties had Justice on their Side. This Resolution the Pope immediately communicated to the *German* Lords and Bishops, inviting them to assist at that Assembly, as they tendered the Peace and Welfare of the Church as well as the State, and declaring those cut off from the Communion of the Church, who should oppose or prevent their Meeting at the Time and Place his Legates should appoint: "If any one, says he, shall attempt to prevent our Legates from executing this our Resolution, be he King, Archbishop, Bishop, Duke, Count, or Marquis, we bind and anathematize him, not only in his Soul but likewise in his Body, and by our Apostolic Authority deprive his Arms of Victory." Thus *Gregory*; as if Victories were at his Disposal as well as Kingdoms ^{u.}

^s *Anna Comnena*, l. i. p. 32. ^{Guill. Apul.} l. iv. p. 34. ^{Richard.} apud *Ptole-*
meum, *Lucent.* ad ann. 1084. ^{Concil.} t. x. p. 399. ^{Concil.} t. x.
ibid. et *Greg.* l. v. ep. 15, 16:

Year of
Christ 1078.
Rudolph de-
feated by
Henry, and
Henry in his
Turn by Ru-
dolph.

In the mean time *Henry*, leaving *Italy*, returned with the Troops he had levied there to *Germany*, and meeting *Rudolph* engaged him, put his Army to Flight, and improving the Victory, made himself Master of *Suabia* and *Bavaria*, that had declared for his Rival. In this Battle several Persons of Distinction on the Side of *Rudolph* were slain or made Prisoners. Among the latter were *Bernard* Archdeacon of the *Roman Church*, *Sigefrid* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Adelbert* Bishop of *Worms*. But *Henry* was soon after defeated in his Turn by *Rudolph*, and obliged to quit the Countries he had just recovered. We are told that in this Engagement most of the *German* as well as the *Italian* Lords, who adhered to *Henry*, were either killed or taken, and that the Archbishop of *Magdeburg* was the only Person of any Note that fell on the Side of *Rudolph* *.

Fifth Council
of Rome.

While the Two Competitors were thus contending in the Field for the Crown, *Gregory* assembled another Council, the fifth of his Pontificate, at *Rome*, in the Beginning of *November* of the present Year 1078. At this Council appeared Embassadors both from *Henry* and from *Rudolph*, sent to swear, in their Name, that no Violence should be offered to the Legates of the Apostolic See, but that they should be suffered to hold unmolested the intended Congress †. And that Oath they took accordingly, in the Presence of the Pope and the Council.

Berengarius
abjures his
Doctrine con-
cerning the
Eucharist.

As the famous *Berengarius* still continued to deny the real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and daily gained over many to his Opinion, he was summoned to the present Council, and required to give an Account of his Belief with respect to that Mystery. He had solemnly abjured his Doctrine, as has been related above, in a Council held by Pope *Nicholas* II. in 1059. But being threatened by the present Council with Excommunication, as an incorrigible Heretic, in maintaining and propagating a Doctrine repugnant to that of the Fathers, and condemned by the Church, he owned his Error, begged Pardon of the Council, and to satisfy them of his Sincerity made in their Presence the following Confession of Faith: “ I confess the Bread in the Eucharist to be, after Consecration, the true Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that sits at the Right Hand of the Father; and the Wine, after Consecration, to be the true Blood, that flowed from the Side of our Lord:

* Chronograph. Magdeburg. Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1078.
Bernied. in Vit. Greg. c. 102.

† Paulus.

“ And

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“ And what I pronounce with my Mouth I believe in my Heart.
 “ So help me God, and these his holy Gospels.” The Fathers of the Council were not all satisfied with this Confession; and *Berengarius* was therefore ordered to continue at *Rome* till the Meeting of a more numerous Council, which was to be held the following Year, when his Doctrine as well as his present Confession should be more leisurely examined ⁷.

Year of
Christ 1078.

The Council met in the Month of *February* of the following Year 1079, and the Question being proposed, whether Christ was *substantially* or only *figuratively* present in the Eucharist, the greater Part of the Bishops, says the Historian, in all One hundred and Fifty, who composed that Assembly, maintained the Bread to be substantially converted, by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, and the Words of the Minister, for the Redemption of Mankind. Some, struck with Blindness, continues the Historian, pretended the Eucharist to be but a Type. But they, yielding before the Third Session, agreed with the rest; and *Berengarius*, the Author of that Error, owning it to be so, made the following Confession of Faith in the Presence of the Council: “ I *Berengarius* believe in my Heart and confess
 “ with my Mouth, that the Bread and Wine, which are placed up-
 “ on the Altar, are changed substantially by the Mystery of the sa-
 “ cred Prayer and the Words of our Redeemer, into the true, real,
 “ and vivifying Flesh, and into the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 “ and that after Consecration it is the true Body of Christ that was
 “ born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was offered on the Cross for the
 “ Salvation of the World, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father;
 “ and the true Blood of Christ that flowed from his Side, and not
 “ merely a Type, but in Property of Nature and in real Substance;
 “ as is set forth in this Writing, which I have read, and you have
 “ heard. Such is my Belief, and henceforth I will teach nothing
 “ contrary to this my Confession. So help me God, and these his
 “ holy Gospels².” This Confession being approved by all who were present at the Council, the Pope forbade *Berengarius* on the Part of God, and his holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, ever to dispute concerning the Mystery of the Body and Blood of our Lord, or to teach any thing relating to it, unless it were to reclaim those whom he had led

Sixth Council
of Rome.
Year of
Christ 1079.
Berengarius
abjures his
Doctrine
again.

⁷ Anonymus Chifflet. & Bertold. ad ann. 1078.
 Virdun. p. 214. Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1079. Regist. Gregorian. l. vi. post
 epist. 17.

² Hugo Flavin. in Chron.
 Regist. Gregorian. l. vi. post

Year of
Christ 1079.

affray ^a. This Command he promised to obey; and thereupon *Gregory*, not questioning his Sincerity, wrote the following Letter in his Favour: "*Gregory*, Servant of the Servants of God, to all the Faithful of *St. Peter*, Health and Apostolical Benediction. We think it incumbent upon us to let you know, that we have anathematized, on the Part of God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, all who shall any-ways presume to injure *Berengarius*, Son of the *Roman* Church, either in his Person or his Possessions, or call him a Heretic. He has stayed long with us, as long as we please; and now we send him home attended by our trusty *Fulco*." However *Berengarius*, returning the following Year to *France*, publicly retracted both the Confessions he had made at *Rome*, declaring that he had signed them out of Fear, being threatened with immediate Death if he did not yield. Tortures, Racks, and Death, are Arguments, that few have Courage or Constancy enough to resist!

Embassadors
from Henry
and Rudolph
assist at this
Council.

To this Council, as well as to the former, Embassadors were sent by *Henry* and by *Rudolph*, to answer the Accusations that their Enemies might bring against them. Those from *Rudolph* complained of the Devastations committed by *Henry* in all the Countries through which he passed, of his sacrilegiously plundering Churches and Monasteries, putting some Bishops in Irons and murdering others, and treating all as Rebels who did not obey him as King, though he had forfeited his Kingdom, and all Right to the Crown, by his Disobedience to the Decrees of the Apostolic See. Hereupon most of the Bishops, without so much as hearing the Embassadors of the King, were for excommunicating him anew, as well as all who adhered to him, and declaring *Rudolph* the sole lawful King of *Germany*. But the Embassadors promising upon Oath, in their Master's Name, that about the Feast of the Ascension proper Persons should be sent to conduct the Legates of the Apostolic See into *Germany*, that no Kind of Violence should be offered them in going or returning, and that the King would submit to their Judgment, and concur with them in settling the Affairs of the Church as well as the State as they should direct, the Pope was prevailed upon to suspend the Sentence of Excommunication, and leave the Whole to be determined by his Legates in the ensuing Congress ^b. The Embassadors of *Rudolph* took

Both promise
to stand to
the Judgment
of the Apo-
stolic See.

^a Hugo Flavin. ubi supra.

^b Paul. Bernried. ubi supra.

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the same Oath in his Name, and the Pope, upon the breaking up of the Council, named *Peter* Cardinal Bishop of *Albano*, and *Altman* Bishop of *Padua*, to assist at the Congress as his Legates, enjoining them to determine nothing without consulting the Holy See. At the same time *Gregory* wrote a circulatory Letter, addressed to all the Faithful of the *Saxon* and *Teutonic* Kingdoms, commanding them to forbear all Hostilities, since the contending Parties had agreed to stand to the Judgment of his Legates c.

It was at this Time in most Places customary for Archbishops to make, at their Consecration, a Promise or Profession of canonical Obedience to the Pope, that is, of such Obedience as was enjoined by the Canons. The like Profession of Obedience was made by all Bishops to their Metropolitans, and by all Metropolitans to their Primates. But *Gregory*, who had nothing less in view than to subject all Bishops to himself and his Successors, as absolute Monarchs of the Church, changed that Promise into an Oath of Allegiance, much the same with that which Emperors and other Sovereign Princes imposed upon their Feudatories and Vassals. Thus not satisfied with the usual Promise of canonical Obedience, he obliged *Henry*, the new Archbishop of *Aquileia*, to take the following Oath in the present Council: "I shall from this time forward be faithful to St. *Peter*, to Pope *Gregory*, and his Successors, that shall be chosen by a Majority of the Cardinals. I shall neither advise nor assist in taking away their Life, in dismembring, deposing, nor imprisoning them. I shall come to their Synods when summoned by their Nuncios or their Letters, and send Deputies if I cannot come in Person, and shall obey the Canons of such Synods. I shall assist in maintaining and defending the *Roman* Papacy and the Regalia of St. *Peter*, so far as is consistent with my Order. I shall not disclose the Counsels which the Popes themselves or their Nuncios shall communicate to me. I shall treat honourably and assist their Legates coming from or going to *Rome*. I shall not knowingly communicate with those whom they have excommunicated by Name. I shall assist the *Roman* Church, when required, with a military Force. All this I shall faithfully observe, unless exempted from that Obedervance by a Dispensation from the Pope d." Could a more full and formal Allegiance be sworn by any Subject to his Prince!

c Paul. Bernried. ubi sup. Bertold. in Chron. d Apud Baron. ad ann. 1079.

Year of
Christ 1079.

*The Pope re-
quires the
King of Eng-
land to pay
him Homage.*

*The King's
Answer.*

As the Payment of the Money, that was yearly remitted to *Rome* by the Kings of *England* under the Name of *Peter-pence*, had been, in great Measure, neglected during the Conqueror's Three Years Absence in *Normandy*, *Gregory* no sooner heard of his Return to *England*, than he sent over *Hubert*, Subdeacon of the *Roman Church*, in the Quality of Legate, to complain of that Neglect to the King, and at the same time require him to take an Oath of Fealty to him. The Pope's Design was to improve that Charity, for it was but a Charity or Pension, into a Tribute. But the King, in the Letter which he wrote this Year to the Pope, returned a proper Answer to so insolent a Demand. "Your Legate, said he, has required me to promise Fealty to you and your Successors, and desired me to see that the Money which my Predecessors used to send to the *Roman Church* be more punctually remitted. Of these Requests I have granted the one and refused the other. I would not, nor ever will I pay Homage, because I never promised it; and I do not find that my Predecessors ever paid it to yours. As for the Money, it was not collected with due Care, during the Three Years I staid in *France*. But now that I am returned to my Kingdom, I send you by your Legate what has been collected, and shall send you the rest by Archbishop *Lanfranc's* Legates." This resolute Answer was highly resented by the Pope; and being at the same time informed both by his Legate and the Archbishop *Lanfranc*, that the King would not permit any of his Bishops to go to *Rome*, though summoned thither by the Apostolic See, he recalled his Legate, ordering him, in the Letter he wrote to him on that Occasion, to let the King know that he valued not his Money without the Honour, that his forbidding Archbishops and Bishops to visit the Tombs of the Apostles was a Thing quite unprecedented, and what no King before him, not even Pagan Kings, had ever been so impudent or irreverent as to have attempted; that he had overlooked many Things which deserved Correction, and that if the King did not alter his Conduct, he should be made sensible that he had provoked the Wrath of *St. Peter*. In the same Letter he requires his Legate to invite, and command by the Authority of *St. Peter*, Two *English* and Two *Norman* Bishops, out of each Archbishopric, to repair to *Rome*, in order to assist at the Council which he had appointed to meet next Lent^e. This Letter is dated the 23d of *September* 1079. The Le-

^e Apud *Lanfranc*, ep. 7.

^e *Greg.* l. vii. ep. 1.

gate left *England* soon after, but the King, paying no Kind of Re-
gard to the Pope's Menaces, kept to the Resolution he had taken; ^{Year of}
and no *English* nor *Norman* Bishops were allowed, during his ^{Christ 1079.}
Reign, to go to *Rome*, though frequently summoned, and even ^{Pays no Re-}
threatened with Suspension if they did not comply with the Sum- ^{gard to the}
mons. ^{Pope's Me-}

We have a remarkable Letter written by *Gregory* in the Beginning ^{The Pope}
of *January* of the following Year 1080, in Answer to one he had re- ^{forbids di-}
ceived from *Vratislav*, Duke of *Bohemia*, desiring Leave to have ^{vine Service}
divine Service performed in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, that is, in the ^{in the Sclavo-}
Language of the Country. That Letter the Pope answered in the ^{nian Lan-}
following Words. "As you desire us to allow divine Service to be ^{guage.}
" performed among you in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, know that ^{Year of}
" I can by no Means grant you your Request, it being manifest to all, ^{Christ 1080.}
" who will but reflect, that it has pleased the Almighty that the Scrip-
" ture should be with-held from some, and not understood by all, lest
" it should fall into Contempt, or lead the unlearned into Error.
" And it must not be alledged, that all were allowed, in the primi-
" tive Times, to read the Scriptures, it being well known that in
" those early Times the Church connived at many Things, which
" the holy Fathers disapproved and corrected when the Christian Re-
" ligion was firmly established. We therefore cannot grant, but ab-
" solutely forbid, by the Authority of Almighty God and his blessed
" Apostle *Peter*, what you ask, and command you to oppose, to
" the utmost of your Power, all who require it &c". What can be
more contradictory to the Command of our Saviour, *search the*
Scriptures ^h, or to the whole Fourteenth Chapter of St. *Paul's* first
Epistle to the *Corinthians*? *Gregory* did not, it seems, know that ^{Though al-}
Two of his Predecessors, *Hadrian* II. and *John* VIII. granted to the ^{lowed by o-}
Moravians what he could not grant to the *Bohemians*, Permission to ^{ther Popes.}
perform the divine Service in their native Language the *Sclavonian* ⁱ.
nay St. *Cyril*, the Apostle of the *Moravians*, obtained a Decree of
Hadrian II. forbidding any Bishops or Presbyters to be ordained in
Moravia, who did not understand the Language of the Country, and
therefore could not perform the Functions of his Office so as to edify
the People ^l. The Permission, granted to the *Moravians* by these

^h Greg. l. vii. ep. 11.
Cyril, p. 22.

ⁱ John v. 39.

^l See above p. 57.

^l Vita

Year of
Christ 1080.

Seventh
Council of
Rome under
Gregory.

Decree a-
gainst Lay
Investitures
confirmed.

Henry anew
excommuni-
cated and
deposed.

Two Popes, was confirmed to them, notwithstanding the Decree of Gregory, by Innocent IV. in 1248^m.

Gregory held, according to Custom, a Council in Lent the present Year 1080. It was the Seventh he had held, and of all the most numerous. In this Council the Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition pronounced Two Years before against *Tetald* of *Milan*, *Guibert* of *Ravenna*, *Roland* of *Trevigi*, and several other Bishops, was confirmed, and a new Decree was issued, forbidding Laymen, whether Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marquises, or Counts, to grant Investitures of Bishoprics, Abbies, or of any Ecclesiastical Dignity whatever, on pain of Excommunication, and declaring all, who accepted Investitures from them, excommunicated, till they resigned the Dignities, to which they had, by such wicked Means, been preferred. As *Henry*, repenting the Promise he had made of standing to the Judgment of the Pope's Legates, instead of sending Embassadors to attend them into *Germany*, kept the Passes all guarded to prevent their assisting at the intended Assembly or Diet, Gregory excommunicated and deposed him anew in the present Council: "I excommunicate
" and anathematize, were the Words of the Sentence, *Henry*, whom
" they call King, and all his Abettors: I again deprive him of the
" Kingdom of *Germany* and *Italy*; divest him of all Royal Power
" and Authority, forbid all Christians to obey him as King, and ab-
" solve all, who have sworn, or shall swear Allegiance to him, from
" their Oath. May the said *Henry* and his Abettors have no Strength
" in Battle; may he never gain a Victory so long as he lives. As
" the *Germans* have chosen *Rudolph* for their King, to him I give
" and grant that Kingdom, and to all, who shall steadily adhere to
" him, I promise Absolution from their Sins, and all Blessings in
" this and in the Life to come." The Pope in this Sentence addresses himself all along to the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and closes it thus; "Now therefore, blessed Apostles, make it known to all the
" World, that if you can bind and unbind in Heaven, you can take
" away and give upon Earth, Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities,
" Dukedoms, Marquises, Earldoms, and the Possessions of all Men
" according to their Deserts. For you have often taken from the
" unworthy and given to the worthy Patriarchates, Primacies, Arch-
" bishoprics, Bishoprics. If you judge spiritual Matters, what Power

“ must we allow you to be vested with over temporal Affairs! If you are
 “ to judge the Angels far above the proudest Princes upon Earth, how
 “ great must your Authority be over their Slaves! Let the Kings there-
 “ fore and Princes of the Earth now learn how boundless and uncon-
 “ trolled is your Power! Let them dread for the future to disobey
 “ the Commands of your Church. Let your Vengeance light with-
 “ out Delay upon *Henry*, that all may know he falls not by Chance,
 “ but by your Power. May God confound him, *that his Spirit may*
 “ *be saved in the Day of the Lord Jesus*.” Thus did *Gregory*
 encourage the Subjects of a Christian Prince to Rebellion, on the
 Part of the Apostles, who had strongly recommended Subjection and
 Obedience to the worst even of heathenish Princes, the sworn En-
 mies and Persecutors of the Christian Name. The Pope, having
 thus deposed *Henry*, and confirmed the Election of *Rudolph*, sent
 a Crown of Gold to the new King, or rather Usurper, with the fol-
 lowing Inscription, to let him know that he acknowledged him for
 King.

Year of
Christ 1080.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho.

The Decree, excommunicating and deposing the King, is dated the
 Seventh of *March* 1080.

As the King found himself, at this Time, at the Head of a power-
 ful Army, and had lately gained considerable Advantages over the
 Usurper of his Crown, he resolved, as soon as he was informed of
 what had passed in the Council of *Rome*, to keep thenceforth no
 Measures with the Pope, as the Pope kept none with him. He ac-
 cordingly appointed a Council to meet at *Mentz*, in order to advise
 with the Bishops of his Party concerning the Measures he should pur-
 sue at so critical a Juncture. Nineteen *German* Bishops met at the
 Place and Time appointed, the last Day of *May*. But as no *Italian*
 Bishops assisted at this Council, it was adjourned to a Place nearer
Italy; and the City of *Brixen* in *Tirol* was the Place they chose.
 Thirty Bishops assembled there on the Twenty-fifth of *June* of the
 present Year, with almost all the *Italian* and many *German* Princes,
 all highly provoked at the unprecedented Proceedings and insupport-
 able Tyranny, as they justly stiled it, of the Pope. At this Council
 the King was present in Person; and it was by all to a Man agreed,

The Pope de-
posed in the
Council of
Brixen.

^a Paul, Bernried. c. 107.
 Gotfrid. Viterb. Chron. parte 17.

^o Otto Erlingen. de gestis Freder. I. l. i. c. 7.

Year of
Christ 1080.

that *Gregory* should be deposed and another chosen in his room. The Decree of his Deposition was drawn up; and he was there charged with having raised himself by Tyranny to the Pontifical Chair; with oversetting the Hierarchy, and making himself sole Monarch of the Church; with encouraging Sedition and Rebellion, sowing Discord among Friends, persecuting a peaceable King, excommunicating and deposing him, and placing a perjured Rebel on his Throne. In the same Decree they call *Gregory* a false Monk, a Necromancer, a Soothsayer, an Interpreter of Dreams; One possessed with a *Pythonical* Spirit, One who taught Evil instead of Good; Falshood instead of Truth, a Disciple of the Heretic *Berengarius*, a Heretic, an Infidel. They closed the Decree with the following Words. "We therefore declare, by the Authority of Almighty God, the said *Hildebrand* divested of the Pontifical Dignity, and if he does not quit it of his own Accord, let him be condemned for ever^p." *Gregory* being thus deposed, the Bishops of the Council elected with One Consent *Guibert*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, in his room, who took the Name of *Clement* III. The new Pope appeared in the Council soon after his Election in the Pontifical Robes, and all the Bishops prostrating themselves, together with the King, before him, kissed his Foot, and thus acknowledged him for lawful Pope^q.

And *Guibert*
chosen in his
room.

The King ac-
quaints the
Pope with
the Decree
of his Depo-
sition.

The King himself chose to notify to the Pope his Deposition, and he wrote the following Letter to acquaint him with it. "*Henry*, King by divine Ordination and not by Usurpation, to *Hildebrand*, no longer Pope, but a false Monk. You deserve to be thus saluted, after introducing, as you have done, the utmost Confusion into the Church, and amongst all Orders of Men. You have trampled upon the Archbishops and Bishops, and treated the Anointed of the Lord as your Vassals and Slaves, &c. All this we have borne out of the Regard that is due to the Apostolic See; but you ascribing it to Fear have presumed to set yourself up against the Royal Dignity, and threaten to take it from us, as if we had received it from you and not from God, who called us to the Throne, but never called you to the Chair: you owe your Dignity to Fraud, to Craft, and to Money; your Money procured you Friends, and your Friends opened you the Way to the Chair of Peace with the Sword: being thus raised to the Chair, you have made it your

^p Centius Camerarius in Consul. c. 3. et Baron. ad ann. 1080. ibid.

^q Centius

“ Business to sow Discord, to disturb the public Tranquility, to countenance Disobedience in those, whom all are bound to obey. You have not even spared me, though I have been, unworthy as I am, anointed King, and am, according to the Doctrine taught by the Fathers, to be judged only by God, and can only forfeit my Kingdom by apostatizing from the Faith. The holy Bishops of old did not take upon them to depose the Apostate Emperor *Julian*, but left him to be judged and deposed by God, who alone could judge and depose him. *Peter*, who was a true Pope, commanded all Men to *fear God, and honour the King*; but you do neither, and your not honouring me can only proceed from your not fearing God. *St. Paul* anathematized even an Angel from Heaven, who should preach any other Gospel. We therefore command you, struck with this Anathema, and condemned by the Judgment of all our Bishops, to quit the See you have unjustly usurped; let another be raised to the Throne of *St. Peter*, who will not disguise his wicked Attempts with the Mask of Religion, but teach the sound Doctrine of that holy Apostle. I *Henry*, by the Grace of God King, command you, with all my Bishops, to come down from the Throne. *Descende, descende, come down, come down.*”

Year of
Christ 1080.

The King wrote at the same time to the Clergy and People of *Rome* to acquaint them with the Deposition of the Monk *Hildebrand*, and require them to drive him by Force from the usurped See, if he did not quit it of his own Accord, and to receive and acknowledge for lawful Pope the Person, whom he and his Bishops had placed, with One Consent, on the Throne in his room. In that Letter he forbids the *Romans* to shed the wretched Man's Blood, as Life will be more painful than Death to a Man of his Ambition and Temper.

And the
People of
Rome.

What Answer *Gregory* returned to the King's Letter History does not inform us, nor whether he returned any; but we have a Letter of his to the Bishops of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, dated the Twenty-first of *July* of the present Year 1080, wherein he tells them, that his Enemies, and the Enemies of the Church Universal, had set up for their Leader and Antichrist, a perjured Rebel to the *Roman* Church, named *Guibert*, One who had plundered the Church of *Ravenna*, and was by all good Men abhorred for his Wickedness; that none

The Pope's
Letter to the
Bishops of A-
pulia.

* Apud Baron. ad ann. 1080.

* Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 1080.

Rudolph
killed.

Gregory re-
solves to set
up another
King.

had assisted at that Assembly of Satan, but Men of the most infamous Characters, whose Ordination was null or heretical, and that he did not at all doubt but by the Prayers of St. Peter, who overcame *Simon the Magician*, he should soon defeat the wicked Attempts of the new *Simon* and all his Abettors; nay it is said, that to encourage the Rebels he assured them that a false King was to die that Year, that his Death would happen before the Festival of St. Peter. By a false King the Pope, no Doubt, meant *Henry*; but his Prophecy was fulfilled in *Rudolph*, who fell in a Battle fought near *Mersburg* on the Fifteenth of *June* of the present Year (B). Of this Battle we have very different Accounts, but it is agreed on all Hands, that *Rudolph* being obliged to retire on account of his Wounds, his Men, missing him and believing he was killed, betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, and left *Henry* Master of the Field. *Rudolph* was carried to *Mersburg*, where he died of his Wounds, expressing great Concern at his having failed in the Allegiance which he had sworn to *Henry* his Master and Lord. As the Bishops and others about him strove to comfort him in his last Moments, he shewed them his bloody Arm (for his Hand was cut off), saying, I have justly forfeited the Hand, with which I promised Allegiance to my lawful Sovereign, and my Life with my Hand; but the Pope obliged me to break the Promise I had solemnly made, and usurp a Dignity, to which I had no Kind of Right; you see to what End such an Attempt has brought me, and they, whose Counsels I have followed, may hereafter have Occasion to repent their having put me upon it.

The News of the Defeat and Death of *Rudolph* threw the *Romans*, and such of the *Italians* as adhered to *Gregory*, into the utmost Confusion, and they were all for his being reconciled with the King upon the best Terms he could procure; in order to prevent the spilling of more Christian Blood, and the dreadful Calamities attending so destructive a War. They represented to him that most of the *German* and all the *Lombard* Lords had declared for the King, that the Countess *Mathilda* was the only Person he could rely on in *Italy*; but as the

¹ Hist. Saxon.

² Hemoldus Chron. Sclavor. l. i. c. 29.

(B) If the Pope believed that what he looked upon as a false Prophet, and as an impostor would come to pass, he must be Impostor if he did not believe it (1).

(1) See Bayle Dict. Art. Greg. VII.

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was not able to withstand alone the whole Force of the *Teutonic* Kingdom, she would be soon reduced to the Necessity of either coming to an Agreement with the King or losing her Dominions, and that his Holiness, thus left to the Mercy of a provoked Prince, would in the end be obliged to submit to such Terms as he should be pleased to impose upon him. Thus *Gregory's* Friends; but he, quite unaffected with the Dangers to which he exposed them and even his Favourite Countess *Mathilda*, nor discouraged in the least with the Death of the King, whom he had set up, resolved, without the least Hesitation, to set up another in his room. And he wrote accordingly to *Altman*, Bishop of *Passaw*, and to *William*, Abbot of *Hirsange*, both Men of great Interest in *Germany*, and zealously attached to his See, exhorting them to exert their utmost Endeavours in keeping those, who had declared for the late King, especially *Guelph*, Duke of *Bavaria*, steady in their Obedience to the Apostolic See, to inform him what Succours they can supply him with or procure for him, and to persuade the *German* Lords to proceed to the Election of a new King. He advises them to delay for some Time the Election, rather than to suffer one to be elected, who is not duly qualified for so high a Station, or is not, for Want of Zeal or Abilities, capable of maintaining the Rights and Privileges of the Church, and he sends them the Form of the Oath, which they must require the Person, whom they should chuse, to take; and it is as follows: "From this Time I
" shall be faithful to the blessed Apostle *Peter*, and to his Vicar
" the blessed *Gregory* now living. Whatever he shall command me to
" do with these Words, by true Obedience, I shall faithfully perform as becomes a Christian. As to the disposing of Churches,
" of Lands, or of Revenues, that have been granted to St. *Peter*
" by the Emperor *Constantine*, by *Charles*, or any Men or Women,
" I shall agree with the Pope concerning them, so as not to incur the
" Guilt of Sacrilege, but shall pay due Honour to God and St. *Peter*, and shall become a Soldier of that Apostle and his Vicar". To require this Oath, was requiring a Person, who should take it, to acknowledge himself a Vassal of St. *Peter* and the blessed Pope *Gregory*.

The Pope wrote at the same time to *Desiderius*, Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, ordering him to remind *Robert Guiscard* of the Oath he

The Pope's
Letter to the
Abbot of
Monte Cassino.

^a Greg. l. viii. ep. 3.

Year of
Christ 1080.

Robert Guiscard renews
his Oath to
assist the
Pope.

Eighth Council
of Rome.
Year of
Christ 1081.

Henry ex-
communicat-
ed again.

He marches
into Italy,
and defeats
Mathilda.

had taken to defend the Regalia of St. *Peter*, and engage him to perform what he had promised, should his Assistance be wanted w. The Countess *Mathilda* had informed the Pope, that a Treaty of Marriage was on Foot between the King's Son and the Duke's Daughter, which gave his Holiness no small Concern, as he apprehended that *Robert* might think himself bound by that Treaty to declare for the King, or at least to stand neuter. He therefore enjoined the Abbot in his Letter to sound the present Disposition of the *Norman* Prince, and let him know whether he might be safely relied on. What Answer *Desiderius* returned to this Letter we know not, but from *Guillelmus Apuliensis* it appears, that *Gregory* went at this time in Person into *Apulia*, that he had an Interview with the Duke at *Benevento*, and that the Duke there renewed the Oath he had taken in 1077 to assist the Pope, by whomsoever attacked, and maintain, to the utmost of his Power, the Rights of his See *.

Gregory, thinking he had now nothing to fear from the King, assembled the following Year 1081 a Council at *Rome* in the Beginning of Lent; and in that Council, the Eighth of his Pontificate, he deposed and excommunicated anew the King, and all who, by adhering to him and serving him as King, encouraged him in his wicked Rebellion against God and St. *Peter*. In the same Council the Sentence of Excommunication was again thundered out, with dreadful Anathemas, against the Antipope *Guibert*, and such as received or owned him as Pope †. In the mean time *Henry*, having settled, after the late Victory, his *German* Affairs, set out with his Army for *Italy*, determined to revenge the base Treatment he had met with from *Gregory*, to drive him from *Rome*, and place *Guibert*, chosen by all the *Lombard* and most of the *German* Bishops, on the Pontifical Throne. He was joined, upon his entering *Italy*, by most of the *Italian* Princes, no less provoked against *Gregory* than the King himself, as they saw a War kindled, by his wild Pretensions and Obstinacy, in the Bowels of their Country. The King met not with the least Opposition till he approached *Rome*, when the Countess *Mathilda* unexpectedly appeared at the Head of a considerable Army, and offered him Battle. A Battle was accordingly fought, and the Troops of *Mathilda* giving way at the first Onset, she was obliged to save herself by a precipitate Flight. She was possessed of

* Greg. l. viii. ep. 4.

† Guill. Apul. l. 4.

‡ Concil. tom. x. p. 398.

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more extensive Territories than any other Sovereign, besides the *Normans*, in all *Italy*, divided at this Time into numberless Principalities. The Dukedom of *Tuscany*, the Cities of *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, *Modena*, Part of *Umbria*, of the Duchy of *Spoleti*, of the March of *Ancona*, and all the Country from *Viterbo* to *Orvieto*, now known by the Name of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, were subject to her. But her Subjects were not, it seems, hearty in the Cause; nay they looked upon her, as we read in One of the Pope's Letters ², as a mad Woman, *pro insana habent*, for espousing the Cause of the Apostolic See against so powerful a Prince.

Year of
Christ 1081.

The King, having thus put the Army of *Mathilda* to the Rout, approached *Rome*, and encamping in the Fields of *Nero*, as they are called, on the opposite Banks of the *Tyber*, he sent Parties from thence to lay waste the neighbouring Country, as the *Romans* refused to open the Gates to him. But as his *Germans* could not bear the Heat of the Climate, and Summer approached, he thought it adviseable to put off the Siege to a more favourable Season, and return to *Lombardy*. The following Year he again laid Siege to *Rome*; but the *Romans* defending the Place with great Resolution and Vigour during the Winter and Spring, he was again obliged by the Heat of the Season to abandon the Enterprize and return to *Lombardy*. However he left Garrisons in the neighbouring Castles to harraßs the *Romans*, and block up the City; and the Antipope *Clement* remained at *Trivoli* with a Body of Troops to scour the Country, and intercept the Provisions that might be conveyed into the City ².

And besieges
Rome.

In the mean time the *Saxons*, encouraged by the Pope, chose Count *Herman*, a Native of *Lorraine*, in the room of *Rudolph*; and he was anointed King by *Sigefrid*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, on *St. Stephen's Day*, the Twenty-sixth of *December* of the present Year. *Henry* no sooner heard of this new Election than he marched back to *Rome*, driving in all the Countries, through which he passed, the Bishops, who acknowledged *Gregory*, from their Sees, and the Abbots from their Abbies. As he approached *Rome*, the Citizens, already reduced to great Straits for Want of Provisions, earnestly entreated the Pope to hearken to an Accommodation with the King, and prevent the Calamities with which they were threatened; as the

A new King
chosen by the
Saxons.
Year of
Christ 1082.

² Greg. 1. viii. ep. 3.
ann. 1081.

² Domnizo Vit. Greg. Hugo Flavin. in Chron. ad

Year of
Christ 1082.

Henry re-
duces the
Leonine
City.

The Ninth
Council of
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1083.

Rome taken
by the King;
Year of
Christ 1084.

City must sooner or later fall into his Hands. The King was not averse to an Accommodation, and to convince the Pope of his Sincerity, he set at Liberty *Otto* Bishop of *Ostia*, and afterwards Pope, under the Name of *Urban II.* whom he had arrested. He even offered to acknowledge *Gregory* for lawful Pope, and to accept from him the Imperial Crown, provided he absolved him from the Excommunication, and suffered him quietly to enjoy the Power, which he held of God alone, from whom alone he had received it. *Gregory* answered in general Terms, that he was ready to absolve him, and even crown him Emperor; but as he had offended in many Things, he must first give full Satisfaction to God and the Church. The King, not satisfied with this Answer, laid Siege to the *Leonine* City, and having made himself Master of the Place, notwithstanding the vigorous Resistance he met with, began to batter the Walls of *Rome* on that Side.

In this Extremity the *Romans*, throwing themselves at the Pope's Feet, and representing the great Hardships they had already suffered for adhering to him, and the much greater they were likely to suffer, prevailed upon him to assemble a Council in order to settle the Points in Dispute between him and the King by the Advice of the Bishops, who should assist at that Assembly. To this *Henry*, willing to come to an Agreement with the Pope upon reasonable Terms, readily consented, and forbearing all Hostilities promised upon Oath to let the Bishops pass unmolested. The Council met in the *Lataran* Church on the Twentieth of *November*, and consisted chiefly of the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of *Campania* and *Apulia*, the only Bishops in *Italy* that sided at this Time with the Pope; but as *Gregory* would hearken to no Terms, that the King could agree to consistently with his Dignity, the Council broke up the Third Day; and it was with much ado that the Bishops prevailed upon him not to excommunicate the King a Third Time, though then Master of the *Leonine* City, and under the very Walls of *Rome* at the Head of a powerful and victorious Army.

The King allowed the Bishops, who had assisted at the Council, to return unmolested to their Sees. But provoked, beyond Measure, at the Obstinacy of the Pope, upon their Departure he invested the City on all Sides, and began to batter the Walls with great Fury. But finding he could not easily master the Place by Force, he had Recourse to Bribery, and a large Sum of Money being sent him at this

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this very Time by *Alexius Comnenus*, Emperor of the East, to make War upon *Robert Guiscard*, with that Money he bribed some of the leading Men in *Rome*, and was by them admitted into the City; but the Pope had Time to save himself by retiring to the strong Castle of *St. Angelo*. The King entered *Rome* on the 21st of *March*, attended by *Guibert*, whom he caused to be enthroned the very next Day in the *Lateran* Palace, and to be consecrated the following Sunday in the Church of *St. Peter* by the Bishops of *Modena* and *Arezzo*. On Easter-day, which in the present Year 1084 fell on the 31st of *March*, *Clement* (the Name *Guibert* took at his Election) crowned *Henry* Emperor with the Approbation of the *Romans*, who thenceforth acknowledged him for Emperor^b.

Year of
Christ 1084.

who is crown-
ed Emperor
by *Guibert*.

In the mean time *Robert Guiscard*, hearing that the Emperor was Master of *Rome*, that he had placed *Guibert* on the Pontifical Chair, and was actually besieging the Castle of *St. Angelo*, whither *Gregory* had retired, put himself, without Delay, at the Head of a choice Body of Troops, and marching with all possible Expedition to his Relief, arrived in a few Days in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. At his Approach the Emperor, who had sent the best Part of his Troops into *Lombardy* to oppose the Countess *Mathilda*, thought it advisable to retire. The *Romans* however, who had declared against the Pope, shut their Gates against the *Normans*. But *Robert*, having driven them from the Walls, made himself, in a very short Time, Master of the City, and setting it on Fire in several Places marched, without Opposition, to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, took the Pope from thence, and carried him in Triumph to the *Lateran* Palace^c.

The Pope, be-
sieged in the
Castle of *St.*
Angelo, is
delivered by
Robert
Guiscard.

Gregory, thus set at Liberty, held a Council, the Tenth and last of his Pontificate, in the *Lateran* Church; and in that Council he again excommunicated the Emperor, *Guibert* the Antipope, and all who adhered to the one or the other. This Sentence he caused to be published in *France* by *Peter* Bishop of *Albano*, and in *Germany* by *Otho* Bishop of *Porto*, his Two Legates. As the *Romans* were now greatly incensed against the Pope, whom they looked upon as the Author of the many Calamities they had suffered, and there was no room to doubt but the Emperor, who had gained some new Advantages over the Rebels in *Germany*, would soon return to the Siege

Gregory
leaves *Rome*
and retires to
Salerno.

^b Centius Camer. ad ann. 1084. Abbas Ursperg. Henrici Epist. apud Dacher. tom. ix. Specileg. Bertold, &c.

^c Sigebert. Bertold. Centius Camerarius, &c.

Year of
Christ 1084.

of *Rome*, it was thought advisable by Duke *Robert*, as well as by *Gregory* himself, that he should leave that City, and retire with the Duke to *Salerno*. They left *Rome* accordingly together, and upon their Departure the *Romans*, no longer awed either by the Pope or the *Normans*, declared for the Emperor.

Assembly of
Berbac.

Year of
Christ 1085.

In the mean time *Otho*, the Pope's Legate in *Germany*, spared no Pains to stir up the People against the Emperor, and strengthen the Party of the Usurper *Herman*. With that View he assembled a Council at a Place in *Thuringia* called *Berbac*, consisting chiefly of such of the *German* Bishops as sided with *Herman*. In that Assembly *Gebehard*, Archbishop of *Salzburg*, was for having it defined, that the Pope was vested with a Power over all the Princes of the Earth, and might therefore lawfully not only excommunicate but depose them, and give their Kingdoms to others, if they did not obey the Decrees of the Apostolic See. But *Wicelin*, who had been lately preferred by the Emperor to the See of *Mentz* in the room of *Sigefrid*, maintaining, that our Saviour had granted no temporal Power to *St. Peter*, and consequently that the Pope as his Successor could claim none, warm Debates arose between the Bishops of the opposite Parties, which obliged the Legates to dismiss the Assembly^d.

Assembly of
Quintiline-
burg.

The same Year another Council was assembled by the Legate at *Quintilineburg*, an Abbey in the Neighbourhood of *Halberstadt* in *Saxony*. As this Assembly was entirely composed of Bishops who adhered to the Pope, it was there determined, that all were to acquiesce in the Judgment of the Pope with respect to temporal as well as to spiritual Matters, and that all Men were to be judged by him, and he by no Man. This Determination was opposed by a Clerk of the Church of *Bamberg* named *Gunibert*, maintaining that the Primacy, or the Power, claimed by the Pope, and often exercised, was an Usurpation. But he was driven out of the Council, and the Decree, subjecting all Men, whether Princes, Kings, or Emperors, to the Judgment of the Apostolic See, passed without Opposition, and the contrary Opinion was at the same time condemned as heretical. Several other Decrees were issued by this Council, relating to the Invalidity of Ordinations conferred by excommunicated Persons, to the Marriages of Priests, which were strictly forbidden,

^d Bertold. Uspergens. ad an. 1085.

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Christ 1085.

to the Observance of Lent, during which Fast all were ordered to abstain from Eggs, Cheese, &c. and lastly Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out, with lighted Torches, against the Antipope *Guibert* and Eleven other Bishops, who were all by Name suspended from the Functions of their Office, and with their Accomplices cut off from the Communion of the Church till they resigned the Dignities, to which they had been unlawfully preferred, that is, nominated by the Emperor. This Decree was signed by *Herman* their King, by the Archbishops of *Salzburg* and *Magdeburg*, and Twelve other Bishops^e.

The Emperor no sooner heard of the Decrees of this Council than he appointed one to meet at *Mentz*, inviting all the Bishops of his Party to assist at it, and retort the unjust Anathemas upon those who had thundered them out against them. At this Council were present Two *Roman* Presbyters, with the Character of Legates from Pope *Clement* III. the Archbishops of *Mentz*, of *Cologne*, of *Bremen*, Twenty Bishops from *Germany*, and many from *France* and from *Italy*; and by them *Hildebrand*, who styled himself Pope, *Otho* his Legate, and the Fourteen Bishops of the Council of *Quintilinsburg* were deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized, as Traitors and Rebels, and all forbidden, on pain of Excommunication, to communicate with them, or with their Accomplices. The same Sentence was pronounced against *Herman*, and all who acknowledged or served him as King^f.

While these Things passed in *Germany*, *Gregory* ended a Life, which his boundless Ambition had filled with Troubles, especially after his Promotion to the Pontifical Throne. He died at *Salerno* on the 25th of *May* of the present Year 1085, having held the See Twelve Years One Month and Three Days. There is no small Disagreement amongst the cotemporary Writers with respect to his last Sentiments concerning his Quarrel with *Henry*. *Sigebert* writes, that sincerely repenting, in his last Moments, what he had done, he absolved that Prince, with his last Breath, from the Excommunication which he had so often and with so much Solemnity thundered out against him, and all his Followers^g. But the Author of his Life, who wrote soon after his Death, assures us, that being asked, when past all Hopes of Recovery, whether he would shew, before his De-

^e Bertold. ubi supra.

^f Uspergen. & Bertold. ibid.

^g Sigebert ad ann. 1085.

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parture, any Indulgences to those whom he had excommunicated, he answered, I absolve and bless all who firmly believe that I have such a Power, except *Henry*, whom they call King, the Usurper of the Apostolic See *Guibert*, and the chief Persons, who have encouraged and supported them in their Wickedness with their Assistance or Counsels^h. The same Writer tells us, that the holy Pontiff comforted himself in his last Illness, saying, *I die in exile, because I have loved Justice and hated Iniquity*; and that lifting up his Eyes to Heaven before he expired, *Thither*, he said, *I am going, and shall incessantly recommend you*, addressing himself to the Bishops and Cardinals who were present, *to the Protection and Favour of the Almighty*ⁱ. Indeed his obstinately maintaining, to the last, what he had done to be just suits the inflexible, haughty, and vindictive Temper of *Gregory*, better than his humbly owning he had erred. Being consulted by the Cardinals about his Successor, and desired to name the Person whom he thought the most capable and best qualified to oppose the wicked Attempts of the Antipope, he recommended Three, leaving them at full Liberty to chuse which of the Three they pleased, *viz. D. siderius* Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, *Otho* Archbishop of *Ostia*, and *Hugh* Archbishop of *Lyons*; and the Two first were accordingly chosen the one after the other.

His Character.

Gregory was, to do him Justice, a Man of most extraordinary Parts, of most uncommon Abilities both natural and acquired, and would have had, at least, as good a Claim to the Surname of *Great*, as either *Gregory* or *Leo*, had he not, led by an Ambition the World never heard of before, grossly misapplied those great Talents to the most wicked Purposes, to the establishing of an uncontrouled Tyranny over Mankind, of making himself the sole Lord spiritual and temporal over the whole Earth, and becoming by that Means the sole Disposer, not only of all ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments, but of Empires, States, and Kingdoms. That he had nothing less in his View sufficiently appears from his whole Conduct, from his Letters, and from a famous Piece intituled *Disflatus Papæ*, containing his Maxims. It is to be met with after the 55th Letter of the Second Book of *Gregory's* Letters, and the Reader will there find the following Propositions, in all Twenty-seven.

^h Paul. Bernried. Vit. Greg. c. 110.

ⁱ Idem ibid. c. 108.

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1. The *Roman* Church was founded by none but our Lord.
2. The *Roman* Pontiff alone should of Right be stiled Universal Bishop.
3. He alone can depose and restore Bishops.
4. The Pope's Legate, though of an inferior Rank, is in Councils to take place of all Bishops, and can pronounce Sentence of Deposition against them.
5. The Pope can depose absent Bishops.
6. No Man ought to live in the same House with Persons excommunicated by him.
7. The Pope alone can make new Laws, can establish new Churches, can divide rich Bishoprics, and unite poor ones.
8. He alone can wear the imperial Ornaments.
9. All Princes are to kiss his Foot, and to pay that Mark of Distinction to him alone.
10. His Name alone ought to be commemorated in the Churches.
11. There is no Name in the World but his; that is, as some understand it, he alone is to be stiled Pope. The Name of Pope, formerly common to all Bishops, was appropriated, as Father *Paul* observes, by *Gregory VII.* to the *Roman* Pontiff^k.
12. It is lawful for him to depose Emperors.
13. He can translate Bishops from one See to another when thought necessary.
14. He can ordain a Clerk in any Church whatever.
15. A Clerk ordained by him must not be preferred to a higher Degree by any other Bishop.
16. No General Council is to be assembled without his Order.
17. No Book is to be deemed canonical but by his Authority.
18. His Judgment no Man can reverse, but he can reverse all other Judgments.
19. He is to be judged by no Man.
20. No Man shall presume to condemn the Person that appeals to the Apostolic See.
21. The greater Causes of all Churches ought to be brought before the Apostolic See.
22. The *Roman* Church never has erred, nor will she ever err according to Scripture.

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*The Dictatus
or Maxims
of Gregory.*

^k Benefices and Revenues, p. 58.

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23. The *Roman* Pontiff, canonically elected, becomes undoubted-ly holy by the Merits of *St. Peter*, according to the Testimony of *St. Ennodius* Bishop of *Pavia*, and many of the Fathers, as is related in the Decrees of Pope *Symmachus*.

24. With his Leave an Inferior may accuse his Superior.

25. He can depose and restore Bishops without assembling a Synod.

26. He is not to be deemed a Catholic, who does not agree with the *Roman* Church.

27. The Pope can absolve Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance which they have taken to a bad Prince.

Some Writers, I know, question the Genuineness of that Piece; but it is admitted as genuine by *Baronius*, by *Panvinus*, by the learned *De Marca*, and several other able Critics, and the Sentiments it contains are to be met with in most of *Gregory's* Letters.

The Power
of deposing
Princes first
claimed by
Gregory.

Gregory VII. was the first Pope that claimed the Power of deposing Princes, of absolving their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and disposing, as Sovereign Lord over the whole Earth, of Empires, Kingdoms, and States at his Pleasure. That such a Power was vested in the Bishops of *Rome* was unknown to the World, nay and to those Bishops themselves, till the Time of this Pope, that is, for the Space of near Eleven hundred Years. Hence the Opinion ascertaining that Power in the Pope has, from its Author, been branded not only by Protestants, but by many *Roman Catholic* Writers, with the Name of the *Heldbrandine Heresy*. And truly no Heresy, perhaps, ever was broached more repugnant to the Example set by our Saviour to his Church, to the Doctrine taught by his Apostles, by the Fathers, nay by the Popes themselves, and to the Practice of the Church in all preceding Ages.

That Claim
repugnant to
the Example
of Christ.

And in the first place, Christ as Man, as Founder and Head of the Church, disclaimed all temporal Power, telling *Pilate* that he was indeed King, but that his *Kingdom was not of this World*¹; that he was born and came into the World, not to establish a temporal Kingdom, but to bear Witness unto the Truth, and thus found a spiritual Kingdom. Hence he fled when the *Jews* would have made him King; and being asked by one to speak to his Brother that he would divide the Inheritance with him, he answered, *Man, who made me a Judge or a Divider over you?* Which was as much as to say, I came not

¹ John xviii. 34, 36, 37.

² Luke xii. 13, 14.

into this World to concern myself with temporal Affairs, apply to those whose Province that is. From these Passages it is manifest that Christ (as Man, as Founder and Head of the Church) disavowed all temporal Power, and consequently that his Vicars and Ministers act in direct Opposition to the Example he has set them, in claiming or exercising any in that Character. The Pope pretends to be Christ's Vicar upon Earth; and what can be more absurd, as well as impious, than that he, as such, should claim what Christ himself ever disclaimed; that he should exercise the most extensive Power that ever was known upon Earth, when Christ declined exercising any whatever; that he should pretend to interpose as supreme Judge in Disputes about Empires and Kingdoms, when Christ thought it foreign to his Divine Ministry to interpose as Judge in a private Quarrel between Two Brothers concerning an Inheritance!

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But though Christ exercised no temporal Power himself, says *Bel-
larmine*, he vested the Prince of the Apostles St. *Peter*, and in him his Successors in his See, with all temporal as well as spiritual Power, leaving both him and them at full Liberty to exert it when thought expedient or necessary for the Good of his Church. But of such a Monarchy we meet with no Traces in Scripture; nay from Scripture it is manifest, that no other than spiritual Power was by Christ imparted to the Apostles, viz. 1. The Power of preaching the Gospel all over the World, and baptizing those who believed. 2. The Power of *binding and loosening*, or of *remitting Sins or retaining them*. 3. The Power of consecrating or celebrating the Eucharist. 4. The Power of excluding those from the Church who did not hear the Church, or treating them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom the *Jews* never conversed. These are all different Branches of spiritual Power; and no Mention is made in Scripture of any other communicated by our Saviour to St. *Peter* in particular, or to the Apostles in general, no other, that was to pass from them to their Successors; for the Power of working Miracles, of healing the Sick, &c. was but a temporary Power, and died with them.

The Power of *loosening and binding*, say the Sticklers for the papal Monarchy, was not confined to spiritual; but extended to temporal Matters, even to the absolving of Subjects from the Oaths they had taken to wicked Princes, to the deposing of such Princes, and giving their Dominions to others. Thus was the Power of *loosening and binding*

The Power of
*loosening and
binding no
other than
that of remitting
or retaining Sins.*

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binding understood by Gregory, and he therefore addressed the Two Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, when he deposed the Emperor Henry, in the following Words; *Go therefore most holy Princes of the Apostles, and what I have said confirm by your Authority, that all Men may know you can bind and loosen, you can take away and give upon Earth Empires and Kingdoms.* Thus Gregory. But the Power of *loosening* and *binding* granted to the Apostles in these Words, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*ⁿ, was understood by the Apostle St. John as only relating to the remitting or retaining of Sins; and he thus explains it, *Whosoever Sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever Sins ye retain they are retained*^o; and thus were these Words, *Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.* understood and expounded by the Fathers, all to a Man, as has been shewn by several Roman Catholic as well as Protestant Writers. Add to this, that, according to the Fathers, no Power was given to St. Peter that was not common with him to the rest of the Apostles^p; nay the Power of *loosening* and *binding*, that was promised to him in these Words, *and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*^q; the Power, I say, that was promised in these Words to St. Peter, was granted in as full a Manner, and in the same Terms to all the Apostles; *Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven*^r. If the Power therefore of *loosening* and *binding* includes the deposing or any other temporal Power whatever, such a Power was granted to all the Apostles as well as to St. Peter, and to all their Successors as well as to his; and the Successors of the other Apostles, that is, all Bishops, may, by virtue of that Power, depose Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oaths, dispose of Kingdoms and Empires, as well as the Successors of St. Peter, the Bishops of Rome. This the Popes will not allow; and it is therefore incumbent upon them and the Asserters of the temporal Monarchy, which they claim as the Successors of St. Peter, to shew where any Power whatever was granted

And common
to all the Apo-
stles.

ⁿ Mat. xviii. 18. ^o John xx. 23. ^p See Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. Hier. in Jovin. i. 14. Aug. ep. 165. Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8. Orig. in Matt. xvi. Ambros. in Psal. xxxviii. & de Dig. sac. &c. ^q Mat. xvi. 19. ^r Mat. xviii. 18.

to that Apostle, distinct from that which was vested by our Saviour in all the Apostles.

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The Doctrine of Pope Gregory, with Respect to the deposing, or to any other temporal Power whatever over Princes, is not more repugnant to the Example of our Saviour, than it is to the Doctrine taught by his Apostles; nay and by the Popes themselves in the preceding Ages. Thus St. Paul teaches and commands Subjection to the higher Powers: *Let every Soul, says that Apostle, be subject unto the higher Powers^a. It must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience Sake^b: and in his Epistle to Titus, Put them in Mind, says he, to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, &c.^c* Here the Faithful are taught and commanded to be subject to the higher Powers, to Principalities, and Magistrates; and none are excepted, no, not even the Prince of the Apostles; nay, he too requires and enjoins Subjection and Obedience to every Ordinance of Man in Terms no less expressive than those of St. Paul: *Submit yourselves, says he, to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake: whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors, or to them that are sent by him for the Punishment of Evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well. For so is the Will of God, &c.^d* I shall leave the Assertors of the Papal Monarchy to reconcile the Subjection to the higher Powers, to Principalities and Magistrates, so strictly required by the Two Princes of the Apostles, as an indispensable Duty incumbent upon all Christians, with the Pope's pretending to be free from all Subjection, nay and to subject all Princes to himself as supreme Lord both temporal and spiritual over them, as well as their Principalities, States, and Kingdoms.

All without
Distinction
subject to the
higher Pow-
ers.

The Popes, before Gregory, looked upon the Emperors as supreme Princes Lords in Temporals; as superior to all Men in worldly Power, as holding their Power of God alone; as accountable to none but to God for their Actions; and thought themselves, and all Ecclesiastics as well as Laymen, bound to obey their Ordinances. *You are vested with a Dignity above all Men, said Pope Agapetus to the Emperor Justinian; You have none upon Earth above you; impose therefore upon yourself the Necessity of observing the Laws, as no Power upon Earth can force you to it^e. As your Power, said Pope Gelasius to the Emperor Anastasius, has been given you by God, even*

owned by
the Popes
themselves
for their
Lords.

^a Paul. ad Rom. xiii. 1.
^b Ep. ii. 13, 14, 15.

^c Ibid. ver. 5.
^d Tit. iii. 1.
^e Agap. in Paræn. ad Justin. Num. 1, 21, 27.

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the Ministers of Religion and the Prelates of the Church must obey you in worldly Affairs y. In like Manner does Pope *Symmachus* express himself in expounding the Words of King *David*, *Against thee alone have I sinned* z. *David*, says he, *was King, and knowing that, as such, he was liable to be punished for his Sin by none but by God* he said, *against thee alone* &c. *Others sin against God and the King, but the King has none above him to punish him for his Sin, and he therefore sins against God alone* a. Would *Symmachus* have writ thus if he had known himself to be vested with the Power of deposing Kings, that is, of inflicting the greatest Punishment that can be inflicted on a King? *Gregory the Great* thought himself bound to obey the Commands of the Emperor, even when to him they appeared unjust, and inconsistent with the Laws of the Church. Thus being commanded by the Emperor *Mauritius* to publish a Law, forbidding those who served in the Army to embrace a monastic Life, he first caused that Law to be published in different Parts of the World in Compliance with the Emperor's Order, and then remonstrated against it, thus complying, as he expresses himself, with the Duty he owed to his Lord the Emperor, and yet not neglecting that which he owed to God, as he apprehended the Law to be displeasing to him b. In a Letter, which he wrote to *Theodore*, the Emperor's Physician, he complains of *Mauritius* for not allowing his Soldiers to serve God, who had raised him to the Throne, and vested him with a Power over the Priesthood as well as the Soldiers c. From these Passages, and many more might be alledged to the same Purpose out of the Writings of other Popes, it is manifest, that the best among them knew of no temporal Power above that of Sovereign Princes, but thought themselves no less bound, than the meanest of their Subjects, to obey their Commands, even when they appeared to them repugnant to the Laws of the Church.

Obedience
and Subjection
even to
wicked Princes
recommended by the
Fathers as a
Duty.

The same unreserved Obedience to the *higher Powers*, to Kings and Princes, even to wicked, pagan, or heretical Kings and Princes, was recommended by the Fathers of the Church as an indispensable Duty incumbent upon all Christians without Distinction: and the Reason they alledged why the same Obedience ought to be yielded to bad as to good Princes, to the Persecutors as to the Defenders of the

* Gelas. ep. 8.
l. ii. ep. 62.

* Psal. 51. iv.
• Ibid. ep. 64.

* Inno. iii. in Psal. 51.

• Greg.

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Christian Religion, was, *because all Power is of God, and therefore whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*: adding the Charge given to Servants by St. Peter; *Servants, be subject to your Masters with all Fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward^d*; and from thence concluding, that as it is not lawful for Servants to withdraw their Obedience and Subjection to their froward Masters, so neither is it lawful for Christians to withdraw their Obedience and Subjection to the *Powers ordained of God*, even when they persecute the Church instead of defending it^e. They knew not, it seems, that the Pope was supreme Lord over all the Princes of the Earth, and that he could, by his Apostolic Authority, depose them, and bestow their Dominions upon whom he pleased, else they would have applied to him, instead of declaring, as they did when persecuted by the *Pagan or Arian Princes*, that they had no Resource but in Sighs, Tears, and Patience^f.

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That Gregory VII. was the first Pope that ever exercised, or pretended to exercise, the deposing Power, or indeed any other temporal Power over Princes, evidently appears from all the contemporary Writers. For though some of them, adhering to the Pope, strove to justify the Sentence he pronounced against the Emperor, all agree in this, that no such Sentence had ever been pronounced by any Pope before, and that it struck with its Novelty the whole Christian World. *I read and read again the Gests of the Roman Kings and Emperors*, says Otho Frisingensis, *but do not find that any of them besides the present* (meaning Henry IV.) *ever was divested by the Roman Pontiffs of his Kingdoms*: and Sigebert, *The Popes used no other but the Spiritual Sword, till the Time of Gregory, the last of that Name, who first employed and taught other Popes to employ the Sword of War^h*. Gregory VII. was the last of that Name when Sigebert wrote this Epistle or Apology, that is, in 1103. Waltram, Bishop of Hamburg, in his Apology for the Emperor, written in 1093, calls the Decree against that Prince a *new and wicked Attempt*, and in Two Books proves it to be repugnant to Scripture and Tradition, reproaching the Bishops, who stood by Gregory, with acting contrary to the express Command of God and the Practice of the Church in all Agesⁱ. Eberhard Archbishop of Saltzburg, in a

The deposing Power unknown to the World till the Time of Gregory VII.

^d Pet. 1 Ep. 18.]

433, et seq.

^e Otho Frising. in Frag. Apol. pro Henr.

^e See Dupin. de antiq. Eccles. Discipl. Dissert. vii. p.

^f Nazian. orat. in Julian. Ambros. in orat. ad Auxient. &c.

^h Sigebert. in ep. pro Leodegar.

ⁱ Waltram.

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Speech, which he made in the Diet at *Ratisbon*, in the Time of *Frederic II.* calls *Hildebrand* the *Founder of the Empire of Anti-christ*, and the *First that, under Colour of Religion, began the wicked War, which has been, says he, not less wickedly carried on by his Successors.* The Power therefore claimed by *Gregory* was till his Time utterly unknown to the whole Christian World; nay and to the Popes themselves, else, as many of them quarrelled with, and some were persecuted and even deposed by Princes, they would, upon such Provocation, have exerted their Power, and deposed them in their Turn. But even the most daring among them contented themselves with Excommunications, Censures, and Interdicts: and hence the Opinion, vesting any temporal Power in the Pope over Sovereign Princes, or their States and Dominions, was branded by *Sigebert*, and very deservedly, with the Name of the *Hildebrandine Heresy*^k. And truly no Heresy ever arose in the Church more pernicious to the Peace, Tranquillity, and Welfare of Mankind, none that ever occasioned more Conspiracies, Insurrections, Rebellions, Massacres, Assassinations; which must all be placed to the Account of *Gregory*, the first Author of that seditious and impious Doctrine.

Instances al-
leged by Gre-
gory to sup-
port his Claim
foreign to the
Purpose.

Nothing can more plainly shew, that the Opinion, ascribing to the Pope the deposing or any other Power over Princes in temporal Affairs, is destitute of all Foundation, than the Instances and Reasons, upon which it was founded by *Gregory* himself, the First that claimed it. The first Instance he produces is that of King *Childeric*, whom he supposes to have been deposed by Pope *Zachary*. But nothing is more certain in History than that *Childeric* was deposed by the Lords of the Kingdom for his Incapacity, and not by the Pope on Account of any Crime cognizable by his See, as I have hinted above, and proved from the contemporary Writers in the Life of that Pope. The other Instance alledged by *Gregory* is that of St. *Ambrose* excommunicating, as he says, the Emperor *Theodosius*. But first, that Bishop pronounced no Sentence of Excommunication against the Emperor: he only ordered the Doors to be shut when he offered to enter the Church, nor would he allow him to enter it till he had performed due Penance for the unjust and cruel Slaughter of the People of *Theffalonica*. In the Second place *Ambrose* did not attempt to divest him of his Power, or absolve his Subjects from their Oaths

^k Sigebert. ad ann. 1088.

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of Allegiance; so that this Instance is quite foreign to the Purpose. Lastly, had he done so, it would follow from thence, that the deposing Power was vested in other Bishops, at least in the Bishop of *Milan* as well as in the Bishop of *Rome*, which the Advocates for the papal Supremacy will not allow. The Third Instance is that of a Privilege, supposed to have been granted by *Gregory the Great*, with this Clause, *If any King, Priest, Judge, or any secular Person whatever, shall knowingly transgress this our Constitution, let him be deprived of his Power, Honour, and Dignity.* But that Privilege is now generally looked upon as a mere Forgery, foisted into that Pope's Letters after his Time. For in one of his Letters it is said to have been granted to an Hospital ^m, in another to St. *Mary's* at *Austin* ⁿ, and in a Third to St. *Martin's* in the Suburbs of that City ^o. Besides, the Style is thought by the best Judges to be very different from that of all *Gregory's* other Writings; and even they, who allow that Piece to be genuine, understand the Words of the Clause as only imprecating, *may he be deprived of his Power, &c*; for those Words extend to Priests as well as to Kings, and consequently to the Popes themselves; and we cannot suppose that *Gregory* declared them too deprived of their Dignity in case they transgressed that Privilege.

To these Instances, the Pope adds the following Reasons: 1. The *His Reasons* Apostolic See has received of our Saviour the Power of judging spiritual Matters, and consequently that of judging temporal Concerns, which is a Power of an inferior Degree. 2. When our Saviour said to St. *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, when he granted him the Power of *loosing* and *binding*, he did not except Kings. 3. The Episcopal Dignity is of divine Institution; the Royal is the Invention of Men, and owes its Origin to Pride and Ambition. As Bishops therefore are above Kings as well as above all other Men, they may judge them as well as all other Men. Thus reasons *Gregory*, and very absurdly, since allowing all he says to be true, we could not conclude from thence any Power to have been granted to St. *Peter* and his Successors, that was not granted to the other Apostles, and in them to all their Successors. For he speaks of the Episcopal Dignity in general; and from its being superior to that of Kings, argues a Power in Bishops, and consequently in all Bishops, of judging Kings. The Apostles had no Power either spiritual or temporal but what was

^m Greg. epist. lib. ii. ep. 10.

ⁿ Idem epist. 11.

^o Idem epist. 12.

communicated

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communicated to them by our Saviour; and from Scripture it appears that he communicated to them the one and not the other, the spiritual and not the temporal, which he himself always disclaimed. I have shewn above, that the Power of *loosing* and *binding* was no other than that of *remitting* or *retaining* Sins, and that such a Power was granted in as full a Manner to all the Apostles as it was to St. *Peter*. By the Power of *feeding the Sheep* of Christ was understood, by all the Expounders of the Scripture, till *Gregory's* Time, the Power of instructing and teaching; and that Power was by our Saviour imparted to all his Apostles, in the following Words; *All Power is given to me in Heaven and on Earth; go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all Things, whatsoever I command you*^p; and, *Go into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature*^q. The Apostles, says *Chrysostom* explaining these Passages, *were all in common entrusted with the whole World, and had the Care of all Nations*^r. It is true, as *Gregory* observes, that when Christ said to St. *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, he did not except Kings, the Apostle being commissioned by those Words to *feed*, that is, to *teach every Creature*, and consequently Kings as well as their Subjects. To *feed* and *command*, to be *Shepherd* and *Sovereign*, were synonymous Terms, as *Gregory* understood them. But St. *Peter* himself understood them in a very different Sense. For in his Second Epistle General he requires the Overseers to *feed the Flock of God*, but forbids them to assume any Power over them, *neither as being Lords*, says he, *over God's Heritage*. In short, the Words *feed my Sheep* were understood, till *Gregory's* Days, by the whole Church, as only relating to spiritual Matters; and *Bellarmino* himself has not been able to produce one single Writer, that understood them, before that Pope's Time, in any other Sense. What the Pope adds, *viz.* that the Royal Power owes its Origin to Pride and Ambition, is false and repugnant to the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, teaching, that *there is no Power but of God*, and that *the Powers that be, are ordained of God*^s.

The Doctrine
taught and
practised by
Gregory heretical.

Such are the Foundations, upon which *Gregory* built the most extensive Monarchy that ever was known upon Earth, *viz.* false Facts, false Reasonings, and false Interpretations of Scripture; and he might as well have found the Pope, as did *Innocent III.* vested with such an

^p Mat. xxviii. 19.
l. viii. p. 115.

^q Mark. xvi. 15. Luke xxiv. 47.
^r Romans xiii. 1, 2.

^s Chrys. Oper.

extraordinary Power in the First Chapter of *Genesis*, where it is said that God made Two great Lights, as in any of the Passages he has produced. And now to conclude; as the Opinion, ascribing to the Pope the deposing, or any other temporal Power whatever over Princes, far from having any Foundation in Scripture, in Reason, in History, is evidently repugnant to the Example set by Christ to his Church, to the Doctrine taught and often recommended to all Christians without Exception, by his Apostles, by the Fathers, by the Popes themselves, and to the Practice of the Church in all Ages till the Time of this *Gregory*; and has besides occasioned more Rebellions against the *Powers ordained of God*, more Slaughter and Bloodshed than any Heresy we read of in History; may it not, ought it not to be looked upon as the very worst Heresy, that ever arose from the Times of the Apostles to this Day? Should a Man teach Adultery, Incest, Murder, &c. to be lawful, he would be deemed a Heretic by Christians of all Denominations, these Crimes being expressly forbidden and declared unlawful in Scripture. And is not he, who teaches Perjury, Rebellion, Assassinations, &c. to be lawful, though no less expressly forbidden in Scripture than the Crimes I have mentioned, nay who commands them as Duties, when conducive to the Support of his usurped Power, to be branded with the Name of Heretic? The Doctrine taught by *Gregory* was greedily embraced and frequently practised by his Successors, deposing Kings, absolving their Subjects from their Allegiance, encouraging Rebellions, &c. as we shall see in the Sequel; and this Doctrine they still hold, as is manifest from their allowing its Author a Place in the Calendar, and their worshipping him as a Saint. If his Doctrine be an Error, it is one of a very high Nature, of most dangerous Consequence, implies great Arrogance, Injustice, Pride, and Ambition, tends to involve every Christian Kingdom upon Earth in civil Wars, Rebellions, Conspiracies, &c. And how can they, who see it in that Light, as many *Roman Catholics* do, and must consequently look upon the Pope as a Tyrant and an Usurper, nevertheless communicate with him?

Gregory, not satisfied with the Power of pulling down and setting up Princes, Kings, and Emperors at Pleasure, as King of Kings, Monarch of the World, and sole Lord both spiritual and temporal over the whole Earth, claimed the Sovereignty of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, as having once belonged to *St. Peter*, whose Right was unalienable. Thus, being informed in the very Beginning of his Pontificate

Year of
Christ 1085.

*Gregory lays
Claim to most
Kingdoms in
Europe.*

Year of
Christ 1085.
To Spain.

tificate that Count *Evulus*, a Man of great Wealth and Power, had formed a Design of recovering the Countries, which the *Moors* had seized in *Spain*, and was levying Forces with that View, he sent Cardinal *Hugh*, surnamed the *White*, to let him know, that *Spain* belonged to *St. Peter* before it was conquered by the *Moors*; that though the Infidels had subdued that Country, and held it for a long Course of Years, the Rights of *St. Peter* still subsisted, there being no Prescription against that Apostle or his Church, and that he, as supreme Lord of the whole Kingdom, not only approved of the Count's Design, but granted him all the Places he should recover from the Barbarians, upon Condition that he held them of *St. Peter* and his See. In the Letter, which he wrote at this Time, addressed to all who were disposed to join in driving the *Saracens* out of *Spain*, he forbids any to enter that Country who is not resolved to hold of *St. Peter* what Acquisitions he may make, as he had rather it should remain in the Hands of the Infidels, than that the Holy *Roman* and Universal Church should be robbed of her undoubted Right by her own Children; that is, he had rather the Christians in *Spain* should continue under the oppressive Yoke of those Infidels, than be rescued from it by a Prince, who did not pay Homage, as a Vassal, to the Apostolic See. This Letter, dated the Last of *April*, 1073, and consequently written a few Days after his Election, shews what Sentiments *Gregory* brought with him to the Pontifical Chair. Four Years after he wrote again to the Kings and Princes of *Spain*, renewing his Claim to their respective Kingdoms and Principalities, as having belonged to his See when the *Saracens* seized them, and requiring those, who held them, to pay the Tribute they owed to *St. Peter* as their Sovereign Lord ^u.

To France.

As to *France*, *Gregory* pretended that formerly each House in that Kingdom paid, at least a Penny a Year to *St. Peter*, as their Father and Pastor, and that this Sum was, by Order of *Charlemagne*, collected yearly at *Puy* in *Velai*, at *Aix la Chapelle*, and at *St. Giles*. For this Custom the Pope quotes a Statute of that Emperor, lodged, as he says, in the Archives of *St. Peter's* Church. But as that Statute is to be found no-where else, it is universally looked upon as a Forgery, and by some even thought to have been forged by *Gregory* himself. However he ordered his Legates in *France* to exact that

^u Greg. l. i. ep. 7.

^v Idem, l. iv. ep. 28.

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Sum, and insist upon its being paid by all as a Token of their Subjection to St. *Peter* and his See^w.

Year of
Christ 1085.

Solomon, King of *Hungary*, being driven from the Throne by *Geisa* his Cousin, had recourse to the Emperor, whose Sister he had married, and was by him restored to his Kingdom, upon Condition that he should hold it of him as his Feudatory. This *Gregory* no sooner understood than he wrote to *Solomon*, claiming the Kingdom of *Hungary* as belonging to St. *Peter*, to whom he pretended it had been given by *Stephen* the first Christian King of the Country. *The Elders of your Country*, said he in his Letter to the King, *will inform you, that the Kingdom of Hungary is the Property of the Holy Roman Church, sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Proprium est; that King Stephen, upon his Conversion, offered it to St. Peter, and that the Emperor Henry of holy Memory (meaning Henry III.) having conquered the Country, sent the Lance and the Crown, the Ensigns of Royalty, to the Body of St. Peter. If it therefore be true that you have agreed to hold your Kingdom of the King of the Germans, and not of St. Peter, you will soon feel the Effects of the Apostle's just Indignation; for we, who are his Servants and Ministers, cannot tamely suffer the Honour, that is due to him, to be taken from him and given to others^x. Solomon was again driven out by Geisa, which Gregory construed into a Judgment for the Injustice he had done to St. Peter, telling the Usurper, that the Prince of the Apostles had given the Kingdom to him, as Solomon had forfeited all Right to it by rebelling against the Holy Roman Church, and paying that Homage to the King of Germany, which was due to none but her and her Founder^y. *Geisa*, thus countenanced by the Pope in his Usurpation, held the Kingdom of *Hungary* to the Hour of his Death, which happened in 1077. He was succeeded by *Ladislaus*, who, to avoid the Disturbances which he was sensible the Pope would raise and ferment amongst his Subjects, if he held not his Kingdom of him, immediately acknowledged himself for his Vassal, declaring that he owed his Power to God, and under him to none but St. *Peter*, whose Commands he should ever readily obey, when signified to him by his Successors in the Apostolic See.*

The Two Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia* he claimed as the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, pretending that they had been formerly given,

To the
Islands of
Corfica and
Sardinia.

^w Greg. I. viii. ep. 25.

^x Idem, lib. ii. ep. 13.

^y Idem, ep. 2.

Year of
Christ 1085.

Nobody knows when nor by whom, to the Apostolic See. Hence he no sooner heard that the Christians had gained considerable Advantages in *Corfica* over the *Saracens*, and recovered great Part of that Island, than he sent a Legate to govern the Countries, which they had recovered, as the Demesnes of his See, to encourage them in so laudable an Undertaking, and assure them that he would assist them, to the utmost of his Power, with Men as well as with Money, till they had reduced the whole Island, provided they engaged to restore it to its lawful Owner St. *Peter*^a. As to *Sardinia*, he wrote to *Orzoch* the chief Judge, that Island being then governed by Judges, to let him know that his Island had once belonged to St. *Peter*, as well as the neighbouring Island of *Corfica*; that the *Normans*, the *Tuscans*, the *Lombards*, and even some Ultramontane Princes, had applied to him for Leave to invade it, offering to yield one Half of the Country to him, and to pay Homage for the other, but that he had not hearkened, nor would he hearken, to any Proposals of that Nature till he knew how they were disposed towards the Holy See, and what Reception his Legate, the Bearer of this Letter, should meet with^b. Here *Gregory* claims the Sovereignty of the Island, and threatens to let loose the *Normans*, the *Tuscans*, the *Lombards*, and with them the Ultramontane Nations against the Natives, if they did not own him for their Sovereign. *Baronius* tells us, that from many ancient Monuments it appears that *Sardinia* was under the Dominion of the Apostolic See^b. But not one Monument has he been able to produce prior to *Gregory's* Time, nor can he name one Pope that claimed either of those Islands before him.

To Dalmatia.

Gregory, claiming the Power of setting up as well as pulling down Kings, in order to subject *Dalmatia* to his See, conferred the Title of King upon *Demetrius* Duke of that Country, obliging him, on that Occasion, to swear Allegiance to him and his Successors in the See of St. *Peter*. That Oath the Pope's Legate required upon delivering to the Duke, in the Pope's Name, a Standard, a Sword, a Scepter, and a Royal Diadem. The new King at the same time promised to pay yearly on Easter-Day Two hundred Pieces of Silver to the holy Pope *Gregory*, and his Successors lawfully elected, as supreme Lords of the Kingdom of *Dalmatia*, to assist them, when required, to the utmost of his Power, to receive, entertain, and obey their

^a Greg. l. v. ep. 24.

^b Idem, l. viii. ep. 10.

^b Bar. ad ann. 1073.

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Legates, to reveal no Secrets that they should trust him with, but to behave on all Occasions as became a true Son of the holy *Roman* Church, and a faithful Vassal of the Apostolic See^c. Year of Christ 1085.

Demetrius was at this time King of *Russia*, and his Son coming to *Rome* to visit the Tombs of the Apostles, *Gregory* made him Partner with his Father in the Kingdom, requiring him, on that Occasion, to take an Oath of Fealty to St. *Peter* and his Successors. This Step the Pope pretended to have taken at the Request of the Son, who, he said, had applied to him, being desirous to receive the Kingdom from St. *Peter*, and to hold it as a Gift of that Apostle. The Pope added in his Letter to the King, that he had complied with the Request of his Son, not doubting but it would be approved by him and all the Lords of his Kingdom, since the Prince of the Apostles would thenceforth look upon their Country and defend it as his own^d. From some of *Gregory's* Letters it appears, that *Sueno* King of *Denmark* had promised to subject his Kingdom to the Apostolic See. But we do not find that this Promise ever was fulfilled, either by him or by his Son and Successor. *Gregory*, in One of his Letters to *Sueno*, speaks of a Province in *Italy* possessed by Heretics, which he offers to him, as if he had a Right to dispose of the Property of Heretics, and invites him to conquer it^e. Who these Heretics were, or where they dwelt, History does not inform us. The *Polanders* had, from the Time of their Conversion, sent yearly a Present in Money to St. *Peter*, viz. an Hundred Marks of Silver; and this Sum, originally a Charity, *Gregory* exacted under the Name of Tribute, due to him and his Successors, as Sovereign Lords of the Country^f. As for *Saxony*, he pretended the whole Country to have been given by *Charles-magne* to St. *Peter*, as soon as he conquered it^g. But such a Donation was never heard of till *Gregory's* Time. I have spoken above of his Claim to the Kingdom of *England*, and the resolute Answer *William the Conqueror* returned to his Legate. In *Italy* the *Normans*, Masters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Benevento*, *Capua*, and *Aversa*, and almost all the other Princes, the Country being divided into many small independent Principalities, were obliged to acknowledge themselves Vassals of the Apostolic See, and swear Allegiance to the Pope, in order to prevent their Dominions

^c Baron. ad an. 1076.

^d Greg. l. ii. ep. 74.

^e Idem, l. ii. ep. 51.

^f Idem, l. ii. ep. 7.

^g Idem, l. viii. ep. 25.

Year of
Christ 1085.

Gregory
claims the
same Power
over all Bi-
shops as over
all Princes;

and exercises
it in France:

from being invaded by their more powerful Neighbours, whom *Gregory* never failed, when Occasion offered, to stir up against them, till he brought them into Subjection to him and his See.

Gregory, pretending that all Power, spiritual as well as temporal, centered in him, claimed and exercised the same supreme, unlimited, uncontrollable Authority over Bishops and the other Ministers of the Church in spiritual Matters, as he did over Emperors and Kings in temporal Concerns. In his Letters innumerable Instances occur of Bishops summoned to *Rome* from all Parts to give an Account of their Conduct, and there either condemned and deposed, or absolved and confirmed in their Sees. He sent, in like manner, *Legates a Latere* into *France*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, with full Powers to assemble Councils, to summon the Bishops to assist at them, to suspend and even to depose such of them as did not comply with that Summons. Thus *Hugh*, Bishop of *Die*, having in 1078 appointed, as the Pope's Legate, a Council to meet at *Autun*, suspended the Archbishops of *Reims*, *Besançon*, *Sens*, *Bourges*, and *Tours*, and excommunicated the Bishops of *Paris* and *Chartres*, for not obeying the Summons; and they were all obliged to travel to *Rome*, in order to be absolved by the Pope; and by him they were accordingly absolved, but upon Condition that, returning to *France*, they asked Pardon of the Legate^b. The Legate held several other Councils in *France*, viz. at *Poitiers*, at *Avignon*, at *Meaux*, suspending, excommunicating, and deposing, such of the Clergy as he found guilty of Concubinage or Simony, that is, such as were married, or had received the Investiture of Benefices from Laymen. *Manasses*, Archbishop of *Reims*, was the only Person in all *France* who had Courage enough to oppose the arbitrary Proceedings of the Pope's Legate. But he was deposed in a Council held at *Lyons* in the Beginning of the Year 1080; and the Sentence pronounced by the Legate in that Assembly was confirmed by the Pope, who wrote immediately to the Clergy and People of *Reims*, to the Suffragans of that Metropolis, and to the King, requiring them no longer to acknowledge *Manasses* for Bishop of *Reims*, but to drive him from that See, and chuse, or cause another to be chosen, in his roomⁱ. In his Letter to the King, *Philip* the First of that Name, he commands him on the Part of *St. Peter*, and begs him on his own, to shew no Marks of Favour to

^b Greg. l. ix. ep. 15, 16. & l. v. ep. 17.

ⁱ Idem, l. viii. ep. 17, 18, 19, 20.

Manasses,

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Manasses, once Bishop of *Reims*, but deposed for his enormous Wickedness by the Judgment of the Apostolic See. However we find *Manasses* still in Possession of that See in 1109, that is, Twenty-four Years after the Death of *Gregory* ^k. Year of Christ 1085.

The Pope exerted, by his Legates, a no less despotic Power over the Bishops of *Spain*, *Germany*, and all other Countries, except *England*, where his Legates were allowed to assemble no Councils, nor to exercise any Kind of Jurisdiction whatever. The King would not even suffer any of the *English*, nor indeed of his *Norman* Bishops, to go to *Rome*, though summoned thither by the Pope, to receive their Palls, or to assist at his Councils, as appears from several of *Gregory's* Letters. For in One he complains of *William*, the new Archbishop of *Rouen*, for not applying to him either for his Confirmation or for the Pall ^l; in another he reproaches the *Norman* Bishops in general with Disobedience to the Commands of his Legates, in refusing to assist at their Synods, though invited by them, and ordered, in his Name, to attend; and adds, that he had not seen the Face of One *Norman* Bishop since his Advancement to the Pontifical Throne ^m. In 1081 he wrote a threatening Letter to *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wherein he tells him, that though he had been frequently invited to *Rome*, upon Matters that nearly concerned the Faith and Religion, he had out of Pride or Contempt declined complying with that Invitation; that he had not alledged, nor so much as pretended to alledge, any canonical Impediment; that he had been too long suffered thus to go on abusing his Patience, but if he did not appear at *Rome* by the Feast of *All Saints* next ensuing, and thus atoned for his past Disobedience, he should be excluded from the Protection and Favour of St. *Peter*, and suspended from all the Functions of the Episcopal Office ⁿ. But *Lanfranc* chose rather to obey the King than the Pope, who indeed continued to complain of the Conduct of the Archbishop; but, unwilling to quarrel with the King, contented himself with Menaces only; nay, his Legate in *France*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Die*, having suspended several of the *Norman* Bishops for not assisting at his Councils, *Gregory* immediately ordered him to absolve them, directing him, at the same time, to do nothing for the future that might exasperate the King of *England*, without a particular Order

^k Nichol. Sueffior. l. i. c. 26.
l. ix. ep. 1.

^l Idem ibid. ep. 20.

^m Greg. Epist. l. vii. ep. 2.

ⁿ Idem,

from

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Christ 1085.

Gregory ca-
nonized.

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from him°. Thus did the *Norman* and *English* Bishops, by the wise and resolute Conduct of their King, enjoy their antient Privileges and former Liberty; while all the Bishops around them were forced, through the Bigotry, Neglect, or Incapacity of their Princes, to submit to *Gregory's* unjust Usurpations.

Gregory has been stiled by some, and very justly, the Founder of the papal Grandeur. For by him it was first happily discovered, that God's Command, enjoining every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers, did not extend to the Successors of St. *Peter*, but, on the contrary, that our Saviour, by these Words, *Feed my Sheep*, made that Apostle, and those who were to succeed him in the See of *Rome*, supreme Lords and Monarchs of the whole Earth in Temporals as well as in Spirituall, vesting them as such with an unlimited Power of pulling down Princes, Kings, and Emperors, if they disobeyed their Commands, and setting others up, at Pleasure, in their room. Such extravagant Notions, utterly unknown to all *Gregory's* Predecessors, as well as to the rest of Mankind, would, one would imagine, have been universally looked upon, even by his Successors, as the Ravings of a Man quite mad with Ambition, like those of the Madman at *Athens*, who had persuaded himself that all the Power and Wealth in the World were his own. But instead of that, the succeeding Popes have not only adopted those very Notions, but honoured *Gregory*, by whom they were first broached; with a Place in the Calendar, and yearly celebrate his Festival on the 25th of *May*, the Day of his Death, under the Title of St. *Gregory VII. Pope and Confessor*. Pope *Anastasi*, the Fourth of that Name, raised to the See in 1322, ordered him to be painted in a Church at *Rome* among the other Saints, which Pope *Gregory XIII.* looked upon as a Kind of Canonization, and therefore caused his Name to be inserted in the *Roman Martyrology* in 1584. However he was no-where publicly worshipped as a Saint till the Year 1609, when *Paul V.* by a special Bull, permitted *John de Guevara*, Archbishop of *Sulerno*, and his Chapter, to solemnize his Festival. Leave was afterwards granted by *Alexander VII.* and *Clement XI.* to several Communities to honour him as a Saint. But *Benedict XIII.* ordered him to be acknowledged for a Saint by the whole Church, and by his Appointment a Prayer and a Legend were

• Greg. Epist. l. ix. ep. 5.

composed,

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composed, to be every-where used on his Anniversary. But as he is commended in the Legend for his invincible Constancy and Firmness in opposing the wicked Attempts of the Emperor Henry (that is, for maintaining his undoubted Right of granting Investitures), for his Resolution and Intrepidity in cutting him off from the Communion of the Church, depriving him of his Kingdom, and absolving his Subjects from their Allegiance, that Piece has been forbidden in most Catholic Kingdoms as a seditious Libel, calculated to encourage Perjury, Sedition, and Rebellion*. To worship as a Saint the Pope, who had claimed, and had been sainted for exerting, the deposing Power, would be acknowledging that Power in his See (C).

Year of
Christ 1085.

As to the Writings of Gregory, 359 of his Letters have reached our Times, and are divided into Nine Books, containing those he wrote from the Time of his Election in April 1073 to 1082. Mention is made by some of a Tenth Book, which is no more to be met with; and the Eleventh, as they call it, has but One Letter and the Fragment of another. The Commentary upon the Seven penitential Psalms, commonly ascribed to Gregory the Great, is thought by some to be the Work of Gregory VII. several Passages in that Piece being levelled against an Emperor, said there to have revived Simony in the Church, to be the Author of a dangerous Schism, to have wickedly attempted to enslave the Church, and subject even the Apostolic See to his Empire. All this they understand of the Emperor Henry IV. and probably the Author of the Commentary meant him. But as that Work is written in a very different Style from that of Gregory VII. we can from thence only conclude it to have been composed, as in all Likelihood it was, in that Pope's Time. We know of no Emperor in the Days of Gregory the Great, that attempted to enslave the Church, &c. nor indeed had the Church yet begun to claim any

His Writ-
ings.

* See a Piece intitled, Avocat du Diable.

(C) In the Church of St. Severino at Naples, Gregory is to be seen painted among the other Popes of the Benedictine Order, holding a Crozier or pastoral Staff in his Left, and a huge Scourge in his Right Hand, lifted up in a lashing Posture, with Imperial and Royal Scepters and Diadems under his Feet; to shew that he was the Scourge of Princes, and, in a man-

ner, trampled upon Emperors and Kings: And lest his thus treating the higher Powers should be thought inconsistent with true Sanctity, over his Head are written in large Capitals these Words, Sanctus Gregorius VII. But it is not at all likely that Princes ever will be brought to allow him that Title, or suffer such a Saint to be worshipped in their Dominions.

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Christ 1085.

Exemption from the secular or civil Power; a plain Proof that the Piece in question must be the Performance of a Writer that lived in much later Times. A Commentary in Manuscript, written by *Gregory VII.* upon the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, is said to be lodged in the Library of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*.

Gregory was buried at *Salerno*, where he died, and there his Reliques are worshipped to this Day in the Cathedral dedicated to *St. Matthew*, whose Body is supposed to have been discovered in that City in 1080. *Marfilius Columna*, preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of *Salerno* in 1574, assures us, that he saw with his own Eyes, and touched with his own Hands, *propriis oculis inspeximus, propriisque manibus contrectavimus*, the Remains of the holy Pontiff *Gregory*, quite entire, with all his Pontifical Ornaments yet fresh, though near Five hundred Years had elapsed since he was buried; which might be true, were *Gregory* in a very different Place from that, in which he is supposed to be by those who worship him.

ALEXIUS COMNENUS,
Emperor of the East.

VICTOR III.

HENRY IV.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and fifty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Victor
chosen.

Year of
Christ 1086.

GREGORY being, in his last Illness, consulted about his Successor by the Cardinals who attended him, recommended Three Persons to their Choice, *viz.* *Desiderius* Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, and Presbyter Cardinal of the *Roman* Church, *Otho* Bishop of *Ostia*, and *Hugh* his Legate in *France*, whom he had transferred from the See of *Die* to the Archiepiscopal See of *Lions*, all Three Men of his own Principles, as well as Temper, and therefore judged by him the best qualified to complete the Work which he had begun, that of subjecting the temporal to the spiritual Power, and the one and the other to the Apostolic See. As by naming *Desiderius*, in the first place he seemed to prefer him to the other Two, the Cardinals met at *Rome* soon after his Death, with a Design to raise him, in Compliance with the Recommendation of the deceased Pope, to the Pontifical Throne. But *Desiderius* finding that the Cardinals and the rest of the Clergy

° *Marfil. Colum. de Vit. Gest. & Translat. Math. Apost.*

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as well as the leading Men in *Rome*, were resolved to chuse him, and even force him to acquiesce in their Choice, he privately left *Rome*, and returned to his Monastery. The Cardinals, determined to chuse him and no other, earnestly entreated him to return, but could not prevail upon him to quit his Monastery till the Month of *May* of the following year 1086, when the Cardinals being all summoned to *Rome*, in order to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, he was in the end persuaded by the Prince of *Salerno*, and by *Roger* Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who had lately succeeded his Father *Robert Guiscard* in that Dukedom, to comply with that Summons. Upon his Arrival the Cardinals, the Clergy, and the People met in great Numbers, and proclaimed *Desiderius* Pope, as having been chosen by *Gregory* his Predecessor of blessed Memory, they carried him by Force to the Church of *St. Lucia*, to acknowledge him there with the usual Ceremonies. But, still opposing his Election, he would not suffer them to clothe him with the Pontifical Robes; and the Fourth Day after he was chosen he left *Rome*, quitted at *Terracina* the red Cope, one of the Ensigns of the Pontifical Dignity, which they had forced upon him, and again withdrew to *Monte Cassino*. He was thus elected, and owned for lawful Pope under the Name of *Victor III.* on *Whitsunday*, which in 1086 fell on the 24th of *May*. He continued at *Monte Cassino*, protesting against his Election as null, since he had not consented to it. But a Council, consisting of the Bishops of *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, meeting the following Year, 1087, at *Capua*, to redress some Abuses that prevailed in those Parts, *Desiderius* repaired to it, and meeting there Duke *Roger*, with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerno*, he was, at last, in a manner, forced to yield to their Entreaties, joined to the Tears of all the Bishops of that Assembly, representing to him, in the most pathetic Terms, the distressed Condition of the Church, and the Dangers to which he exposed it, by his obstinate and ill-timed Resistance. He resumed the Cope, and appearing in the Council with the other Ensigns of his Dignity, he allowed them to acknowledge him for lawful Pope. This happened on *Palm Sunday*, the 21st of *March*. From *Capua* the Pope returned to *Monte Cassino*, and having kept his *Easter* there, set out from thence for *Rome*, attended by the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerno*. Upon his Arrival in that City he found the Church of *St. Peter* possessed by his Rival *Guibert*. But he being soon driven from thence by the Forces, which the two Princes had brought with them,

Year of
Christ 1086.

Declines the
Pontificate;

but is pre-
vailed upon
to accept it.
Year of
Christ 1087.

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them; *Victor* was consecrated in that Basilic, on the Ninth of *May* 1087, Two Years, wanting a few Days; after the Death of *Gregory*. Thus far *Leo Ostiensis*, an Eye-witness of what he writes^a. *Victor*, having spent Eight Days at *Rome*, left that City; and returned to *Monte Cassino*.

Hugh Arch-
bishop of
Lions de-
clares against
him.

Hugh, Archbishop of *Lions*, had approved of the Election of *Victor*, as well as the other Cardinals of that Party. But having, upon his long Resistance, conceived Hopes that he never would accept the offered Dignity, and consequently that he himself would, in all Likelihood, be chosen, as he had been recommended by *Gregory*; he was so provoked at his Disappointment, which *Victor* committed to his Promotion, that he declared against him, pretending that he had discovered many Things relating to his Conduct, which he was ignorant of when he approved his Election. In a Letter, which he wrote to the Countess *Mathilda*, he charged *Victor* in particular with favouring the Emperor, with disapproving the Decrees and censuring the Conduct of *Gregory*, and even with encouraging the Emperor under-hand to march to *Rome*, and lay waste the Lands of the holy *Roman* Church^b. But the Countess, whom *Hugh* flattered himself he should thus gain over to his Party, coming to *Rome* at the Head of her Army, declared for *Victor*, drove his Rival *Gilbert* from all the Places he held beyond the *Tyber*; and, having recovered the Church of *St. Peter*, which he had retaken upon the Pope's Return to *Monte Cassino*, she invited his Holiness back to *Rome*; assuring him, that she was resolved to support him to the utmost of her Power against all his Enemies; and at the same time expressing great Desire to see him. *Victor* complied with the Invitation, and was, on his Arrival, received by the Countess and her Army with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem. At her Request he celebrated Mass in *St. Peter's*, at which she assisted, with all the chief Officers of her Army, who, on this Occasion, received the Papal Benediction. The Countess, having had several Conferences with the Pope, left *Rome*, in order to stop the Progress of the Emperor's Arms in *Lombardy*. She was no sooner gone than the Partisans of *Gilbert* made themselves Masters of the Church of *St. Peter*, and most of the Places which she had taken from them, which obliged *Victor* to quit *Rome* anew, and return to *Monte Cassino*^c.

Victor sup-
ported by the
Countess Ma-
thilda.

^a Leo Ostien. l. iii. c. 65—67.
Cassin.

^b Chron. Virdun. tom. Concl. x.

^c Chron.

As the *Saracens* from *Africa* made frequent Descents upon the Coast of *Italy*, committing every where dreadful Ravages, and carrying Multitudes of People into Captivity, *Victor*, touched with Compassion, applied to the *Italian* Princes; and having prevailed upon them to enter into a League against the common Enemy, a numerous Army was raised, and sent by the Pope to *Africa* with the Standard of St. *Peter*, and Remission of all the Sins they had committed till the Day of their Embarkation. Upon their Landing in *Africa* they committed as dreadful Ravages there as the *Saracens* had done in *Italy*, put an Hundred thousand of them to the Sword, laid their chief City in Ashes, and returned home loaded with an immense Booty. We are told that it was known at *Rome* they had gained a complete Victory over the *Saracens*, the very Day on which the Battle was fought; which plainly shews, says the Historian, that the Expedition was pleasing to God^a; that is, that God was pleased with the Massacre of so many Thousands. Of this Expedition Mention is made by *Bertholdus*, and the glorious Success that attended it is by him chiefly ascribed to the People of *Genoa* and *Pisa*, both States being at this Time in a very flourishing Condition, and powerful at Sea. That Writer adds, that they obliged the Pagan King to take Shelter in a Strong-hold, which they attacked with such Fury, that the King, fearing he should fall into their Hands, agreed to acknowledge himself a Vassal and tributary to the Pope.

Year of
Christ 1087.
He sends a
Fleet against
the Saracens
of Africa.

Victor, soon after his Return to *Monte Cassino*, appointed a Council to meet at *Benevento*; but it consisted only of the Bishops of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the neighbouring Countries. However the Pope assisted, and presided at it in Person. In that Council the Pope, after a most furious Invektive against *Guibert*, as the Fore-runner of Antichrist, as a ravenous Wolf let loose against the Flock of Christ, cursed, excommunicated, and anathematized him anew. In the next place the Pope, having acquainted the Bishops of the Assembly with the Behaviour of *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lions*, who, he said, had not acknowledged him, for no other Reason but because he had accepted the Pontifical Dignity, which the other panted after, he forbade them to communicate with him, or with *Richard*, Abbot of *Marseilles* and Cardinal, who had joined him for the same Reason, and jointly with him endeavoured to divide the Church with a new Schism. Lastly, *Victor*, to shew himself a worthy Successor of *Gre-*

Council of
Benevento.

^a Leo Off. l. iii. c. 67.

^b Berthold. in Chron. ad ann. 1088.

Year of
Christ 1087.

Decree a-
gainst Lay
Investitures.

gory, renewed in this Council the Decrees that Pope had made against Lay Investitures, and the following Decree was issued. "If any one shall henceforth receive a Bishopric or Abbey from the Hand of a Layman, let him not be looked upon as a Bishop or an Abbot, nor revered as such. We deprive him of the Protection of St. *Peter*, and forbid him to enter the Church, till he has resigned the Place which he has accepted, and could not accept without being guilty of Ambition and Disobedience, which is Idolatry. And this Decree extends to all inferior Dignities and Preferments in the Church. If any Emperor, King, Duke, Prince, or Count, or any other Secular Person whatever, shall presume to dispose of any Ecclesiastical Dignity, we include him in the same Sentence; and they too are included, who communicate with such Bishops, Abbots, and Clerks. Let no Man receive the Communion from any but a Catholic. If no Catholic Priest is to be found, it is better to be deprived of the visible Communion, and communicate invisibly with God, than be separated from him by receiving it from a Heretic." The Pope here supposes the receiving of any Ecclesiastical Preferment from a Layman to be Simony and Heresy.

Death of
Victor.

While the Council was sitting the Pope was taken dangerously ill; and he thereupon returned in great Haste to *Monte Cassino*, attended by several Cardinals and all the Bishops of the Council. As his Illness increased, he ordered the Monks to assemble in the Chapter-house, and having caused himself to be carried thither, he appointed *Odericus*, Monk of that Monastery, and Deacon of the *Roman* Church, Abbot in his room, forbid him and the Abbots, who should succeed him, to alienate any Lands, Houses, or Tenements, belonging to the Monastery, on pain of Excommunication, and commanded all the Monasteries under the Jurisdiction of *Monte Cassino* to entertain, once a Year, at Dinner all the Monks of that Monastery. The next Day he called together the Bishops and Cardinals, and after a pathetic Speech upon the distracted State of the Church, he warmly recommended to them *Otto*, or *Otho*, Bishop of *Ostia*, for his Successor, as one, whom *Gregory* himself had nominated to succeed him. The Pope then taking *Otto*, as he was present, by the Hand, and presenting him to the other Cardinals and Bishops, said, *Receive him in my Room, and place him in the Ro-*

! Leo. Off. l. iii. c. 71.

VICTOR III. BISHOPS of Rome.

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man See. He then ordered his Grave to be dug in the Chapter-House, and died, Three Days after, on the Sixteenth of September 1087, having held the See from the Time of his Election, One Year, and from his Consecration Five Months and Seven Days. Year of
Christ 1087.

Hugh of Flavigni, who was no Friend to this Pope, writes that he was struck by the Hand of God while he was celebrating Mass in St. *Peter's*, and that to atone for his Ambition in usurping the Apostolic See, he resigned his Dignity before he died, and ordered the Monks of *Monte Cassino*, to bury him as Abbot and not as Pope ^h. But this Story is of a Piece with that of *Trithemius*, ascribing *Victor's* Death to Poison, which he says the Emperor caused to be mixed with the Wine of the Sacrament ⁱ. He died, according to *Sigebert* ^k, of a Flux, and as we learn from his Epitaph in One of the Chapels of *Monte Cassino*, in the Sixtieth Year of his Age. He was descended from the illustrious Family of the Dukes of *Benevento*, embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Cava* in 1050, succeeded Pope *Stephen IX.* as Abbot of the Monastery of *Monte Cassino* in 1058, and was created a Cardinal by Pope *Nicholas II.* in 1059: He is honoured by the *Benedictines* as a Saint, and his Reliques are worshipped to this Day in the magnificent Chapel of St. *Bartharius* at *Monte Cassino*. *Victor* had adopted all the Maxims of *Gregory*, and would have proved, had he lived longer, a no less dangerous Enemy to the Emperor.

Victor wrote, while he was Abbot, Four Books of Dialogues upon the Miracles of St. *Benedict* and the other Monks of *Monte Cassino* ^l. The Three first Books have reached our Times ^m, but the Fourth is supposed to be lost; and, as far as we can judge from the Three that are still extant; we have no Reason to grieve for the Loss of the Fourth. He wrote very many Letters, says *Petrus Diaconus*, after his Promotion, to *Philip*, King of *France*, and to *Hugh*, Abbot of *Cluny* ⁿ. But those Letters have all undergone the same Fate as his Fourth Book of Dialogues.

^h Leo Ost. l. iii. c. 71.
de Viris illust. l. iv. c. 19.
Diac. c. 18.

ⁱ Hugo Flavin. in Chron. Virdun.

^k Sigebert in Chron. ad ann. 1086.

^l Bibliothec. Patrum, tom. 18.

^m Idem ibid.

ⁿ Trithem.

^o Petrus

ALEXIS COMNENUS,
Emperor of the East.

URBAN II.

HENRY IV.
Emperor of the West.*The Hundred and fifty-seventh BISHOP of Rome.*Election of
Urban.Year of
Christ 1088.

VICTOR's Death was no sooner known than the *Romans*, who had sided with him against *Gaiher*, and the Countess *Mahilda*, apprehending the dangerous Consequences of a long Vacancy, dispatched Messengers to all the Bishops of their Party, pressing them to meet, as soon as they possibly could, in what Place they should judge the most proper, it not being safe for them to come to *Rome*, and to proceed, without Delay, to the Election of a new Pope. Hereupon it was agreed by the Cardinals who had attended the deceased Pope at *Monte Cassino*, and by *Oderisius*, Abbot of that Monastery, that they should assemble at *Terracina* in *Campania* the first Week in Lent of the following Year 1088. This Resolution they notified to all the Bishops and Abbots of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, and likewise to the Clergy and People of *Rome*, desiring the Bishops, who could not attend in Person, to send Deputies with a Power in Writing to agree, in their Name, to the Resolutions, that should be taken by the Assembly, for the Good of the Church. They met at the Time and Place appointed, *John*, Bishop of *Porto*, representing the Clergy, and *Benedict*, Prefect of *Rome*, the Lairy of that City. The Bishops and Abbots were in all Forty, and it was agreed, at their first Meeting, that they should spend Three Days in Prayer and Fasting, beseeching the Almighty to direct them in their Choice. They met again on Sunday the Twelfth of *March*, when *Otto* was unanimously chosen, and placed on the Bishop's Throne, amidst the loud Acclamations of all who were present. They named him *Urban II.* and after his Election he said solemn Mass in the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Cesarius*, where he was elected.

His Birth,
Education,
&c.

That *Otto*, or, as some call him, *Otha* and *Qdo*, was born in the Province of *Reims*, is agreed on all Hands, but whether at *Chatillon* on the *Marne*, or at *Lageri*, or in the City of *Reims*, is uncertain, some calling him a Native of One of these Places, and some

* Petrus Diacon. in Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 2.

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of another. He is said by all Writers, who speak of him, to have been brought up in the Church of *Reims* under the famous *Bruno*, ^{Year of Christ 1088.} Founder of the Order of *Carthusians*, and at that Time Chancellor of that Church. He was afterwards made a Canon of the Church of *Reims*; but tired of the World he soon embraced a monastic Life in the Monastery of *Cluny*, and was there appointed Prior by the famous Abbot St. *Odo*. In 1078 *Gregory VII.* who had been acquainted with him while he lived in that Monastery, called him to *Rome*, raised him soon after to the See of *Ostia*, and sent him, as a Man of his own Principles and Temper, into *Germany*, to foment and improve the Misunderstanding that then subsisted between the Emperor and his *German* Subjects.

Urban wrote soon after his Election circulatory Letters, addressed to all the Faithful, to acquaint them with his Promotion, and at the same time to let them know, that he was resolved strictly to observe all the Regulations, and inviolably adhere to all the Decrees of his Predecessor *Gregory*. These Letters have not reached us, the Register of *Urban's* Letters being lost; but express Mention is made of them by *Ordericus Vitalis*, who tells us, that *Urban* wrote Letters and sent Legates into all the Parts of the World, that *Henry*, Prince of the *Germans*, was the only One that adhered to *Guibert*, that the *French*, the *English*, and all other Nations upon the Earth acknowledged *Urban*.^b But that Writer was certainly misinformed with Respect to the *English*, nothing being more certain, than that neither of the Pretenders to the Papacy was owned in *England* till several Years after, as I shall have Occasion to relate in the Sequel.

The Pope wrote in the Month of *October* of the present Year to *Alphonfus* Son of *Idelphonfus V.* King of *Leon* and *Castile*, on the following Occasion. That Prince having in 1085 recovered, after a long Siege, the City of *Toledo* from the *Moor*s, who had held it, says the Pope in his Letter, for the Space of 370 Years, he appointed all the Lords, Bishops, and Abbots of his Kingdom to meet there, in order to chuse a Bishop capable of restoring the Christian Religion to its antient Splendor in that Metropolis. By that Assembly was unanimously chosen *Bernard*, a Monk of the *Benedictine* Order, a Man held by all in great Esteem for the Sanctity of his Life and his Learning. The King, pleased with the Election, endowed the Church,

His circulatory Letters.

He appoints the Archbishop of Toledo Primate of all Spain.

^b *Ostia*. l. viii.

Year of
Christ 1088.

says the Historian, very richly, and in 1088 sent the Archbishop to *Rome* for the Pall, entreating his Holiness, in the Letter he wrote to him on that Occasion, not only to grant him the Pall, but to appoint him Primate of all *Spain* and *Gothic Gaul*. The Pope received the Archbishop with all possible Marks of Distinction, gave him the Pall, when he was first introduced to him, and a few Days after issued a Bull, restoring to the See of *Toledo* all the Privileges that it had ever enjoyed, declaring *Bernard* Primate of all *Spain* and *Gothic Gaul*, and commanding all the Bishops in those Parts to consult and obey him as such. This Bull is dated *Anagni* 1088, the first Year of Lord *Urban's* Pontificate. This Bull the Archbishops of *Taracon* and *Narbonne* rejected as surreptitious, maintaining that the Archbishops of *Toledo* had never exercised any Sort of Jurisdiction in the other Provinces of *Spain*, as they were supposed to have done in that Bull. But the Pope, resolved to gratify the King, in order to put a Stop at once to that Dispute, declared *Bernard* his Legate, vesting him with the Legatine Power over all the Provinces of *Spain*, and that of *Narbonne*^d. The Primacy, granted by *Urban* to *Bernard*, was confirmed by Seven Popes to that Bishop's Successors in the See of *Toledo*, but it has ever been disputed by the *Spanish* Bishops and the Archbishops of *Narbonne*^e.

Council of
Rome.
Year of
Christ 1089.

The following Year 1089 *Urban* assembled a Council at *Rome*, said to have consisted of One hundred and Fifteen Bishops; and by that Council *Guibert* was excommunicated, and with him the Emperor, and all who adhered to the one or the other. Thus were all the Bishops of *Germany*, but Five, cut off from the Communion of the Church; for at this Time all but Five, *viz.* those of *Wirceburg*, *Passau*, *Worms*, *Constance*, and *Metz*, adhered to *Guibert* and the Emperor. As these Excommunications produced great Confusion in *Germany*, and furnished the Malecontents with a plausible Pretence to take up Arms against their Sovereign, many of *Henry's* Friends advised him to come to an Agreement with the new Pope, and forsaking *Guibert* to acknowledge him. The Emperor was not averse to a Reconciliation; but the Bishops of his Party were all to a Man against it, sensible that, as they had received their Bishoprics from him, the Pope would insist on their resigning them: and thus were all Thoughts of a Reconciliation laid aside.

^c Roderic. l. vi. c. 23.
Dissert. de Primatibus, Num. 125.

^d Concil. tom. x. p. 459.

^e See *Marca*

The Pope, upon the breaking up of the Council at *Rome*, left that City, not thinking himself safe there, and after a short Stay at *Terracina*, went from thence to *Melfi* in *Apulia*, where he held a Council, at which were present Seventy Bishops, Twelve Abbots, *Roger*, Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and all the *Norman* Lords. By this Council the Decrees of *Gregory* against Lay Investitures, and the Marriage of the Clergy, were confirmed; and it was, besides, decreed, that none should be admitted to Orders, who had been twice married; that no Subdeacon should be ordained under Fourteen Years of Age, no Deacon under Twenty, and no Priest under Thirty, that no Person of servile Condition should be received among the Clergy; that Abbots should exact no Money of those, who take the monastic Habit; that Laymen might make the Wives, or, as they are called, the Concubines, of the Clergy, Slaves; and that the Sons of the Clergy should not be admitted into the sacred Order, unless they embraced a monastic Life^r. In this Council the Pope invested *Roger*, the Son of *Robert Guiscard*, in the Dukedom of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, by delivering to him the Standard of *St. Peter*, after he had sworn Allegiance to his Lord *Urban*, and to his Successors canonically elected &c. From *Melfi* the Pope repaired to *Bari*, and there, at the Request of Duke *Roger* and his Brother *Boamund*, consecrated *Elias* lately preferred to that See.

As the Emperor's Party gained daily new Strength, the Pope, to strengthen his, proposed to *Guelph*, Duke of *Bavaria*, a Marriage between his Son, named likewise *Guelph*, and the Countess *Mathilda*. As the Countess possessed large Territories in *Italy*, the Duke readily agreed to the Proposal, and so did *Mathilda*, though she was then Forty Years of Age, merely to gratify the Pope, and engage the Duke of *Bavaria* in his Interest; for we are told, that she lived with her Husband as with a Brother^b. The Emperor no sooner heard of this Marriage, than marching into *Italy* he attacked and reduced several Strong-holds belonging to the Countess in *Lombardy*, and the City of *Mantua* among the rest after an Eleven Months Siege. As many were killed on both Sides in this War, *Godfrey*, who had succeeded *Anselm*, in the Bishopric of *Lucca*, applied to *Urban* to know, how he should deal with those, who had killed excommunicated Persons, what Penance he should impose upon them, or whether he

Year of
Christ 1089.
Council of
Melfi.

The Marriage
of *Mathilda*.

The Emperor
reduces several
Places
in *Italy*.
Year of
Christ 1090.

^r Concil. t. x. p. 478.
ad ann. 1089.

^s Romuald. Salern. in Chron.

^b Bertold.

Year of
Christ 1090.
Guibert re-
called to
Rome.

should impose any. The Pope answered that they were to be judged according to their Intention; and that he did not hold those to be guilty of Murder, who, burning with Zeal for their Catholic Mother against her Enemies, had happened to kill some of them, but nevertheless that some Penance should be enjoined them, in Compliance with the Discipline of the Church, that they may thus atone for their Frailty in case they had not been actuated by Zeal aloneⁱ; which was declaring, that any Man might, with a safe Conscience, put those to Death, whom the Pope had excommunicated, provided he was or thought he was prompted to it by Zeal for the Church. To this hellish Principle are owing so many Massacres and the Extirpation of whole Nations. The Reduction of *Mantua* encouraged the Emperor's Friends in *Rome*; and they took by Surprise the Castle of St. *Angelo*, recalled *Guibert*, and put him again in Possession of St. *Peter's* Church and the *Lateran* Palace.

Council of
Benevento.
Year of
Christ 1091.

In the mean time *Urban*, continuing in *Apulia*, under the Protection of Duke *Roger* and the other *Norman* Princes, held a Council at *Benevento* on the Twenty-eighth of *March* 1091. By this Assembly the Anathemas against *Guibert* and all his Accomplices were repeated, and the following Regulations were made relating to the Discipline of the Church, *viz.* that for the future none should be elected Bishops who were not in holy Orders, that is, who were not Priests or Deacons; that as to Subdeacons, they should be elected very rarely, and never consecrated without the Approbation of the Pope, as well as the Approbation of the Metropolitan; that no Layman should eat Flesh after Ash-Wednesday; that the Faithful, Laymen as well as Clerks, Women as well as Men, should, on that Day, have their Heads sprinkled with Ashes, a Ceremony that is observed to this Day; that no Marriages should be celebrated from Septuagesima till after the Octave of Pentecost, nor from Advent till after the Octave of the Epiphany^k.

Council of
Troia.
Year of
Christ 1093.

From *Benevento*, *Urban* repaired to *Salerno*, where he consecrated the Church of the Holy Trinity, and from *Salerno* to *Troia* in *Apulia*, in which City he held a Council consisting of about One hundred Bishops; and by them Marriages within the forbidden Degrees were declared null, and they, who had contracted such Marriages, were allowed, if young, to marry again^l; which is contrary to the Doctrine now taught and practised in the Church of *Rome*.

ⁱ Ivo, part xx. c. 54.
c. 4. Magist. Sent. c. 41.

^k Concil. t. x. p. 484.

^l Gratian 35. Quest. v.

In the mean time the Emperor pursued, with great Success, the War in *Lombardy*, against the united Forces of the Countess *Mathilda* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, defeated them in the Field, and reduced the whole Country beyond the *Po*. But being obliged to return to *Germany*, where new Disturbances were raised by the Friends and Emissaries of the Pope, he left his Son *Conrad* to carry on his Conquests in *Lombardy* till his Return. But he was scarce gone, when the young Prince, gained by the artful Insinuations of *Matilda*, rebelled against his Father, and taking upon him the Title of King of *Italy*, was crowned, according to Custom, at *Milan* by *Anselm*, Archbishop of that City ^m. *Conrad* is said by most of the contemporary Writers to have been instigated to this unnatural and highly criminal Rebellion not by the Pope but the Countess. However that be, it is certain, that the Pope approved, if he did not advise it. For upon the Archbishop's refusing to crown him till he was absolved by the Pope from the Excommunication, which he had incurred by siding with his Father, he applied to *Urban*, and was by him immediately absolved ⁿ; which was evidently consenting to his Rebellion, nay and rewarding it with the Kingdom of *Italy*. *Dodechinus* and *Helmoldus*, Two Writers who lived near those Times, but were both avowed Enemies to the Emperor, to excuse the Rebellion of his Son tell us, that the Emperor, having conceived an irreconcilable Aversion to the Empress *Adelais*, called also *Praxedes*, ordered several of the Lords of his Court, and among the rest his Son *Conrad*, whom he had by his first Wife *Bertha*, to ravish her, and that upon his refusing to obey so wicked a Command, the unnatural Father gave out that he was not his Son, but the Son of a *Suabian* Lord, whom he greatly resembled. This Affront, say those Writers, so provoked the young Prince, that, in order to revenge it, he took up Arms against his Father, and joined his Enemies ^o. We read in other Writers, that the Emperor obliged some to commit, by Force, the Crime of Adultery with the Empress, hoping he should, by that means, procure a Divorce, and from the Acts of the Council of *Placentia* in 1095 it appears, that *Adelais* applied to the Bishops of that Assembly for Absolution from the Impudicities, which she had involuntarily committed. But none, even of the Emperor's most inveterate Enemies, besides the Two I have mentioned, take any Notice

Year of
Christ 1093.

Conrad re-
bels against
the Emperor
his Father.

^m Auctor. Anonym. Vit. Henrici.
et Helmold. ad ann. 1093.

ⁿ Dodechin. in Chron.

^o Dodechin.

Year of
Christ 1093.

of his commanding his Son to offer any Violence to the Empress, which they would not have passed over in Silence had it been true. To this Crime *Aventinus* probably alluded, when he wrote, that the Emperor's Enemies had charged him with Crimes, that were not so much as known by Name to the *French* and *Germans*, and could only be met with in the Lives of the *Cæsars* written by *Suetonius* p.

Advantages
gained over
the Emperor
in Italy.

The Party of *Urban* and *Mathilda* being greatly strengthened by the Rebellion of *Conrad*, whom many of the *Italian* Lords readily joined, they recovered, jointly with the Forces of the Duke of *Bavaria*, *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Lodi*, *Placentia*, and most other Places that the Emperor had taken. The People of *Toul* and *Metz* drove out the Bishops, whom the Emperor had preferred to those Sees. In *Germany* several Lords followed the Duke of *Bavaria*, and declaring against the Emperor, appointed a Diet to meet at *Ulm*, in order to consult together about the Measures they should pursue against the Schismatics and Rebels to the Holy Apostolic See. To this Assembly the Pope dispatched *Gebehard*, Bishop of *Constans*, with the Character of his Legate. In this Diet, which is said to have been very numerous, it was agreed, that they should in all Things obey the Legate, and act according to his Directions^a.

Diet of
Ulm.

Urban re-
turns to
Rome.

As the Affairs of the Emperor daily declined, the Friends of *Urban* in *Rome* drove out *Guibert*, recalled him, received him with all possible Marks of Joy, and put him again in Possession of the Church of *St. Peter*, where he celebrated Mass on Christmas-Day 1093. But *Guibert's* Party still held the Castle of *St. Angelo* and the *Lateran* Palace, and the Pope was obliged to lie concealed in the House of a *Roman* Nobleman named *Frangipane*. In the mean time *Geffrey*, lately chosen Abbot of the Trinity at *Vendome*, hearing that the Pope was reduced to great Straits for Want of Money, set out for *Rome* in Disguise, taking with him a considerable Sum to lay at his Holiness's Feet. He had the good Luck to reach *Rome* undiscovered; but being introduced to the Pope in the Night, he found him not only quite destitute of Money, but overwhelmed with Debt. The Arrival of the Abbot proved very seasonable; for the Money he brought with him, not only served to supply all the Pope's Wants, but to recover the *Lateran* Palace, which *Guibert* had held ever since the Year 1084. *Guibert*, upon his leaving *Rome*, had committed the Custody of the *Lateran* Palace to one *Ferru-*

^a *Aventin. l. v.*

^q *Bertold. in Chron.*

chius, who, betraying the Trust reposed in him, sent privately One of his Friends to let the Pope know, that he would deliver up the Palace to him for a certain Sum of Money. As his Demand did not exceed the Sum that the Abbot had supplied him with, he hearkened to the Proposal, paid the Money, and got Possession of the Palace, where he was immediately placed in the Pontifical Chair; and the Abbot was the first, who kissed his Foot after his Inthronation^r. As the Castle of *St. Angelo* was still in the Hands of *Guibert's* Friends, *Urban* was easily prevailed upon by the Countess *Mathilda* to leave *Rome*, and repair to *Lombardy*, in order to encourage, with his Presence, those who had declared for him in those Parts. He passed the Summer in *Lombardy* with the Countess, and retiring as Winter approached to *Tuscany*, that belonged to her, he kept his Christmas there, not caring to come to *Rome*, so long as the Castle of *St. Angelo* was held by the Friends of *Guibert*.

Year of
Christ 1093.
Recovers the
Lateran Pa-
lace.

In the mean time some of the *Gallican* Bishops, and *Ivo* of *Chartres* among the rest, wrote to *Urban*, begging he would interpose his Authority, and remove the Scandals which their King, *Philip*, had given, by his new Marriage, to the whole Nation. *Philip* had, under Colour of Consanguinity, dismissed his lawful Wife *Bertha*, by whom he had *Lewis*, who afterwards succeeded him in the Kingdom, and married *Bertrada*, who leaving *Fulco*, Count of *Anjou*, her lawful Husband, had taken Refuge in his Court, apprehending, says *Ordericus*, that the Count would, in a short Time, treat her as he had treated his Two former Wives^s. This Marriage gave great Offence to the Bishops, and the Pope was no sooner informed of it than he wrote to them, commanding them to represent to the King the Enormity of his Crime, and at the same time to let him know, that unless he dismissed *Bertrada*, and recalled *Bertha*, he would proceed against him according to the Rigour of the Canons. But the Bishops not being able to prevail upon him to part with *Bertrada*, who is said to have excelled in Beauty all the Women at that Time in *France*, the Pope, who had received *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, into Favour, though excommunicated by his Predecessor, reinstated him in the Legatine Dignity, which he had enjoyed in *France* under *Gregory*, and ordered him to enquire into the King's Marriage and Divorce, and to proceed in that Affair as was directed by the Canons. *Hugh*, no sooner found himself restored to his former Dig-

Philip King
of France
excommuni-
cated by the
Pope's Le-
gate.

^r Goffrid. ep. viii. ad Paschal II.

^s Orderic. l. viii. p. 699.

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Christ 1094.

nity, than assembling a Council at *Autun* on the Sixteenth of *October* of the present Year 1094, he first renewed the Excommunication against the Emperor, against *Guibert*, and all who adhered to the one or the other, and then, after exhorting the Bishops to join him in vindicating the Honour of God and his Church, he thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against the King, for taking, in his lawful Wife's Life-time, another Woman to his Bed as his Wife^t. Hereupon the King sent immediately Deputies to *Rome* to assure the Pope, upon Oath, that though he had not dismissed *Bertrada*, who had fled for Shelter to his Court, he had no longer any criminal Commerce with her, and therefore to beg that his Holiness would revoke the Sentence, which his Legate had too rashly pronounced against him. The Pope, pleased with the Submission of the King, and probably apprehending he might, if provoked, declare for his Rival, suspended the Sentence for the present, that he might have Time to satisfy him, by his Conduct, of the Sincerity of his Repentance.

Council of
Placentia.
Year of
Christ 1095.

As the Pope daily gained Ground, he appointed a Council to meet at *Placentia*, in the midst of his Enemies, inviting to it all the Bishops of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*. The Council met at the Time appointed, *viz.* on the First of *March* 1095, and is said to have consisted of Two hundred Bishops, of near Four thousand other Ecclesiastics, and Thirty thousand Laymen, insomuch that no Church being large enough to contain such a Multitude, they were obliged to meet in the open Fields. The Empress *Adelais* was not ashamed to appear before this numerous Assembly, and owning that, at the Command of her Husband, she had been ravished by several Persons, begged the Pope and the Council to absolve her from the Sins which she had committed against her Will. Absolution was readily granted to her by the Pope and all the Bishops of the Council; and she thereupon withdrew, and returning to *Germany* retired to a Monastery, where she spent the remaining Part of her Life^u. Her Complaints and the Tears she shed made so deep an Impression upon the Minds of several of the Emperor's Friends, that they forsook him. *Philip*, King of *France*, had promised to assist at this Council; but not caring to have the Affair of his Divorce brought before so numerous an Assembly, he sent Embassadors to excuse his not attending it in Person, pretending that he had set out for that Purpose, but had been

^t Concil. t. x. p. 463.

^u Dodechin. ad ann. 1093.

prevented

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prevented from pursuing his Journey by some unforeseen Affairs of the utmost Importance. The Embassadors begged, in the King's Name, and obtained, that the Sentence pronounced against him by the Legate and the Council of *Autun*, might not take Place till Whit Sunday. *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lions*, Legate of the Apostolic See in *France*, was summoned as well as all the other *Gallican* Bishops, to the Council. But of that Summons he took no Kind of Notice, we know not why, and he was, on that account, suspended by the Pope and the Bishops of the Council from all the Functions of his Office. *Alexius Comnenus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, sent a solemn Embassy to the Pope and the other Bishops of the Council, to represent to them the deplorable Condition which the Christian Religion was reduced to by the Infidels in the East, and implore their Assistance against the common Enemy. The Pope warmly espoused the Cause of those unhappy persecuted Christians; and several of the great Lords, who were present, promised, upon his applying to them, to go in Person to their Relief.

By this Council the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was condemned anew, and it was defined that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist were, by Consecration, changed truly and substantially into the Body and Blood of our Lord; the Marriage of all in holy Orders was declared unlawful, and the Faithful were strictly forbidden to be present at any Functions performed by such of the Clergy as had not parted with their Concubines, that is, their Wives; Orders conferred by *Guibert*, or by Bishops, whom the Pope had excommunicated by Name, were declared null, and the usual Anathemas were thundered out, with lighted Candles, against *Guibert*, Usurper of the Apostolic See, and all who supported him in his wicked Usurpation ^{Canons of this Council.} ^{x.}

Upon the breaking up of the Council, the Pope from *Placentia* set out for *France*, not caring to return to *Rome* so long as his Enemies were Masters of the Castle of *St. Angelo*. As he approached *Cremona*, he was met by the Emperor's Son *Conrad*, and attended by him, as his Equerry, into the City. *Urban* received him with all possible Marks of Esteem and Affection, acknowledged him King of *Italy*, and exacted of him, as such, an Oath of Allegiance to the Apostolic See. The Pope at the same time promised to maintain him in Possession of the Kingdom, and assist him, to the utmost of his Power, in obtaining the Imperial Crown, but upon Condition ^{Interview of the Pope and Conrad.}

Year of
Christ 1095. that he should give up the Investitures *y*. From *Cremona* the Pope pursued his Journey to *France*, and *Conrad* repaired to *Pisa* to receive there the Daughter of *Roger*, Duke of *Sicily*, whom his Friends had obliged him to marry, in order to engage, by that Alliance, the Assistance and Protection of the *Norman* Princes against his Father.

Urban owned
in England. The *English* Nation had not yet acknowledged either of the Pretenders to the Papal Chair, but they were brought this Year by the Art and Address of *Urban* to own him. This Event is thus related by *Eadmer*, who lived at this Time, and was Secretary to Archbishop *Anselm*, whose Life he wrote. That Prelate being preferred to the See of *Canterbury* in 1093, applied the following Year to the King, *William Rufus*, for Leave to go to *Rome* to receive the Pall of the Pope. The King asked, *Of which of the Popes* : and upon *Anselm's* answering, *of Urban*, the King told him, that *Urban* was not owned for Pope in *England* ; that by the Laws of the Kingdom no one could go to *Rome*, or acknowledge any Pope without the King's Leave, and that to deprive him of that Right was to deprive him of his Crown. *Anselm* replied, that while he was Abbot of *Bec* he had acknowledged *Urban* for lawful Pope, and never would depart from the Obedience he owed him. Your Subjection to *Urban*, replied the King, is inconsistent with that which you owe to me as my Subject. The Archbishop boldly answered, that if his Subjection to the Pope was inconsistent with that, which he owed to him as his Subject, he would rather leave *England*, than withhold, for one single Moment, his Obedience to *St. Peter* and his Vicar. The King was already highly dissatisfied, on other Accounts, with the Archbishop's Conduct ; and being provoked, beyond Measure, at his present haughty and insolent Behaviour, he resolved to rid himself of a Man of his turbulent and inflexible Temper. In order to that he sent privately Two of his Chaplains to *Rome*, charging them to get the Pope, if by any means they could, to send the Pall, not to the Archbishop, but to him. The two Envoys applied to *Urban*, who upon their acquainting him with the King's Request, and assuring him, at the same time, that, if it were complied with, the King would cause him to be owned by the whole Kingdom, readily promised to send over the Pall to be disposed of as the King should think good.

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The Pall was accordingly sent by *Walter*, Bishop of *Albano*, who, coming to *England* with the Envoys, avoided seeing the Archbishop as he passed through *Canterbury*, and went strait to the King, who immediately granted him an Audience. In that Audience the Legate, who was a Man of great Address, taking no Notice of the Pall, nor speaking a single Word in Favour of the Archbishop, assured the King, that his Holiness was disposed to grant him his Request, and ready to gratify him in every Thing else that lay in his Power, provided he owned him, and caused him to be owned by all his Subjects for lawful Pope. The King did so, not doubting but the Legate would faithfully perform what he had promised in the Pope's Name, and that the Pall would be delivered to him with full Power to dispose of it to whom he pleased. But instead of that the Legate, having obtained all he wanted, undertook to reconcile the King to the Archbishop; and in that too he succeeded, the King restoring, in Appearance, the Archbishop to his Favour, lest the World should know, that he had been so grossly imposed upon. He begged that, at least, the Pall might be delivered to him, and that the Archbishop might receive it from his Hands. But he could not obtain even that Favour of the Legate, pretending that he was charged by the Pope to deliver it to him with his own Hand; and he went accordingly to *Canterbury*, and there delivered it to him with more Pomp and Solemnity than usual^f.

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Christ 1095.

We left *Urban* on his Journey from *Cremona* to *France*. He arrived at *Puy* in *Velay* about the Middle of *August*, celebrated there the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, and appointed a Council to meet at *Clermont* in *Auvergne* on the 18th of *November* of the present Year. In the mean time he visited several Places, *viz.* *Chaisedieu*, *Tarrascon*, *Avignon*, *Maçon* on the *Soane*, and *Cluny*. As he had been Prior of the Monastery of *Cluny* he continued there till the Meeting of the Council, consecrated the high Altar, confirmed all the Privileges granted to that Monastery by his Predecessors, and added some new ones to them.

Urban in
France.

As the Time appointed for the Council to meet drew near, the Pope, leaving *Cluny*, repaired to *Clermont*. There the Bishops all met for the first Time on *Sunday*, the 18th of *November*, and assisted in a Body at Divine Service. The next Day they assembled again,

Council of
Clermont.

^f Eadmer. Noor. l. i. p. 25, et seq.

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Christ 1095.

Philip of
France ex-
communi-
cated.

Canons of
this Council.

when the Council was opened by the Pope, who presided at it in Person. It consisted of 12 Archbishops, 80 Bishops, and 90 Abbots, besides an infinite Number of the inferior Clergy and Laymen, who were allowed to be present. The Pope had invited all the Bishops in the West to this Council. But none came to it from *Lorraine*, *Germany*, or *Hungary*, the Bishops in those Parts being unwilling to disoblige the Emperor, who did not acknowledge *Urban*. Neither does it appear that any went from *England*, the King being, probably, too much provoked at the late Conduct of the Pope and his Legate to grant them Leave; and they could not go out of the Kingdom without his Permission. As *Philip*, King of *France*, had not yet dismissed *Bertrada*, the Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against both by the Pope in the present Council. But we do not find, that the King was less respected or obeyed while under that Sentence, than he was before. *Fulk*, the Husband of *Bertrada*, was so incensed against the King for detaining her, that he caused the Instrument of a Donation, which he made this Year to the Monastery of *St. Sergius* in the City of *Anjou*, to be closed with these Words; *this Donation was made in the Year of our Lord 1095, in the Third Indiction, on Saturday, the 25th Day of the Moon, Urban being Pope, and France contaminated with the Adultery of the worthless King Philip* &c. It was upon *Fulco's* complaining to the Council of the Injury done him by the King, that the Pope excommunicated him, though many, who were present, endeavoured to divert him from it, apprehending that *Philip*, provoked at such a Step, might declare for his Rival.

By this Council Thirty-two Canons were issued, whereof the following are the most remarkable; *viz.* the 1st, forbidding Priests, Deacons, and Archdeacons, to keep Concubines, that is, commanding them to part with their Wives, on pain of being suspended from all the Functions of their Offices; the 15th and 16th, forbidding the Clergy to receive Investitures from Laymen, and Kings and Princes to give Investitures, as was ordained by Pope *Gregory*, of holy Memory; the 17th, declaring it unlawful for a Bishop or a Priest to promise Fidelity, that is, to take an Oath of Allegiance to Kings, or to any Layman. Thus were Priests and Bishops exempted from the Obligation of obeying their lawful Sovereigns, while Bishops were required, at their Consecration, to swear Obedience to the Pope.

The 25th Canon forbid the Sons of Priests, Deacons, or Subdeacons, to be admitted to Holy Orders, unless they were Monks or regular Canons. By the 28th it was ordained, that they, who received the Eucharist, should receive the Body and the Blood separately. By this Canon was condemned the Custom lately introduced of receiving the Bread dipt in the Wine, as contrary to the Institution of our Saviour, who, at his last Supper, gave the Bread and Wine separately. The Custom of receiving the Eucharist, in one Kind only, obtained, at this Time, in some Places, as appears from *Rodolph*, Abbot of *Sr. Trudo*, who wrote in this Century (B); and it was afterwards approved, nay and even commanded by the Council of *Constans*, though no less repugnant to the Institution of Christ, who administered the Eucharist to his Apostles in both Kinds, than that, which the Council of *Clermont* condemned.

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By this Council the Observance of what they called *Treuga Dei*, *The Treuga Dei*, or *Truce of God*, was warmly recommended, and the Decrees, made by several Provincial Councils concerning it, were all confirmed. To understand what was meant by that Expression the Reader must know, that every Lord and even every private Man, especially in *France*, under the weak Government of their later Kings, claimed a Right of revenging, by Force of Arms, any Injury that was done them; which filled the whole Kingdom with Murders and Rapines, the great Lords being constantly at War with one another, and sparing in their Wars neither Churches nor Monasteries. As the Kings were not, for want of Power, in a Condition to put a Stop to these civil Diffensions, the Bishops, who suffered the most by them, as they were not allowed to repel Force by Force, made several Decrees, in their Provincial Synods, against them, declaring it unlawful for any private Person whatsoever to do himself Justice by Force of Arms, and threatening those with Excommunication who should attempt it. But no Regard was had by the Parties at War to their Decrees, or their Menaces, till the Year 1041, when the Bishops, despairing of being ever able to root out entirely so destructive a Practice, contented themselves with bringing the Lords to

(B) The Abbot wrote in Verse; and his Words, as quoted by *Gropperus*, are,

*Hic et ibi cautela fiat, ne presbyter agris
Aut sanis tribuat laicis, de sanguine Christi:
Nam fundi posset leviter; simplexque putaret,
Quod non sub specie sit totus Iesus utraque* (1).

(1) *Gropper. c. 44.*

U u 2

consent

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consent to a Truce for certain Days in the Week: And it was accordingly, with their Approbation, agreed, that no Hostilities should be thenceforth committed from *Wednesday* Evening till *Monday* Morning, that, during the Four Days of Truce, no Violence whatever should be used, and that they, who offended against this Convention, should be punished with Death, or excommunicated and sent into Exile. This Agreement was made in a Council held in *Aquitaine* in 1041, and was called *Treuga Dei*, or *the Truce of God*, as having been suggested by God, and afterwards approved by exemplary Punishments, miraculously inflicted, as was believed, upon such as transgressed it^h. This truce, called in *Latin Treuga* from the *Spanish* Word *Tregua*, as some conjecture, was confirmed by the present Council of *Clermont*, and afterwards by the Council of *Rome* under *Paschal* II. in 1102, by the *Lateran* under *Innocent* II. in 1139, and by the *Lateran* under *Alexander* III. in 1180. By these Councils several holy Days were added to the Four Days of each Week, all Devastation by Fire was forbidden, and Clerks, Monks, Pilgrims, Merchants, Husbandmen, and Women were exempted from all Violence, and they excommunicated, who should offer them any. It is to be observed, that the Decrees of these Councils related to the Wars, that the Barons or other private Persons made upon one another, and not, as *Baronius* imagined, to Wars between Sovereign Princes.

The Primacy
of Lions con-
firmed.

The Primacy, which *Gregory* had granted to *Gebuin*, Archbishop of *Lions*, was confirmed, by the present Council, to *Hugh* and his Successors in that See; and *Walter*, Bishop of *Cambray*, was suspended from all Sacerdotal and Episcopal Functions, and threatened with an Anathema if he did not quit that See, as he had bought it of the Emperor, and received the Investiture from him, in Defiance of the Decrees of so many Councils.

The Crusade
set on foot by
the Council of
Clermont.

By this Council the Expedition for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, known by the Name of the *Crusade*, was set on foot, and it is, on Account of the Encouragement it gave to that wild, chimerical, and destructive Undertaking, the most famous of all the Councils that were held to the present Time. The Infidels had, as has been observed above, made themselves, in a few Years, Masters of above One Half of the Eastern Empire, had subdued both *Cilicias*, *Syria*, *Isauria*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, the one and the

other *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, with Part of *Asia Minor*, and wanted only Shipping to attack the Imperial City itself. By them the Churches and Monasteries were plundered and burnt, the Priests and Monks either inhumanly massacred or condemned to perpetual Slavery, and the Pilgrims, who came to visit the Holy Sepulchre, exposed to the same cruel Treatment¹. *Alexius Comnenus*, at this time Emperor of *Constantinople*, sent Embassadors, as has been said, to the Council of *Placentia*, to lay before that Assembly the-deplorable Condition which the Christian Religion was reduced to in the East, and implore their Assistance. The Pope had already been informed of the Calamities the Christians suffered under the Yoke of those Barbarians, and most earnestly pressed to relieve them by the famous Hermit *Peter*, whom I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of in the Sequel. He was a Native of the Diocese of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, had gone in Pilgrimage to visit the holy Places at *Jerusalem*, according to the Devotion then in vogue, and as he staid some time in that City, he was an Eye-witness of the inexpressible Miseries the Christians groaned under there, and besides found, from the Account the Patriarch *Symeon* gave him of the State of Affairs, that the whole Empire would, without the Assistance of the Western Princes, in a very short time, fall a Prey to the sworn Enemies of the Christian Name. Hereupon the Hermit, fired with Zeal, offered to solicit Succours of the Pope and all the Western Princes in the Patriarch's Name, if he approved of it. To this the Patriarch readily agreed, as we may well imagine; and the new Commission was confirmed to *Peter* by our Saviour himself appearing to him while he was praying in the Church of the Resurrection. Thus *Guillelmus Tyrius*, or *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, in his History of the *Holy War*²; and *Baronius* chuses to believe him rather than those who will have the Hermit's Commission to have been sent him from Heaven³. *Peter* returned by Sea to *Rome*, and hearing that the Pope was in that Neighbourhood, he immediately went to him; and acquainted him with the lamentable State of Religion in the East, begged he would interpose his Authority, and bring all the Christian Princes in the West to enter into an Alliance in Defence of their helpless persecuted Brethren in the East. The Pope promised to promote, in due time, so holy an Undertaking to the utmost of his Power: And the Her-

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Chiefly by
Means of
Peter the
Hermit.

¹ Guill. Tyr. l. i. c. 9.
1095.

² Idem, ibid. c. xxi. 12.

³ Baron. ad ann.

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mit passing, in the mean while, the *Alps*, visited the Courts of all the ultramontane Princes, being charged with Letters to them from the Patriarch *Symeon*, stirred them as well as their Subjects every-where up to the Defence of the Places, which our Saviour had consecrated with his Presence, and promised eternal Rewards to those, who should be the foremost in redeeming them from the sacrilegious Pollution of the Enemies of God.

The Pope ex-
horts all to
take the
Cross.

The Zeal of the Hermit was seconded by that of the Pope, first in the Council of *Placentia*, and afterwards in the present, that of *Clermont*, which was assembled chiefly to encourage this Undertaking. The Pope therefore, after settling what related to the Discipline of the Church, laid before that numerous Assembly, in a long and pathetic Speech, the deplorable Condition of the Christian Religion under the Infidels in the East, the imminent Danger it was in of being in a very short time utterly extirpated all over that extensive Empire; urging, with great Vehemence, the indispensable Obligation incumbent upon all Christians to relieve their oppressed Brethren, and redeem the holy Places, which Christ had sanctified with his Birth, his Actions, and his Death, from the sacrilegious Pollutions of his sworn Enemies; assuring them of Victory, as they were to fight under the Conduct and Command of Christ himself, and the great God of Armies; declared those, who should enlist in so holy a War, absolved from all their Sins, promised Life everlasting to such as should die in it, &c. The Pope was frequently interrupted, in his Speech, by loud Cries of Persons of all Ranks and Conditions from every Part of that numerous Assembly, offering themselves ready to fly, at his Holiness's Command, to the Relief of their persecuted Brethren, and redeem them even at the Expence of their Lives, from the Tyranny they groaned under. *Urban* finding that the Project took even beyond his Expectation, ordained that they, who engaged in this holy Warfare, should wear a Red Cross on their Right Shoulder, to shew under whose Banner and for whom they fought, extended the *Truce of God* to the Persons and Effects of all who served in this Expedition, and threatened all with Excommunication, who should on any Colour or Pretence whatsoever molest them, or any, who belonged to them, till their Return from the *Holy Land*. He then commanded the Bishops, who were present, to publish, to preach, and promote, to the utmost of

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of their Power, the Holy War in their respective Dioceses; and closed this famous Council on the 28th of *November 1095* ^m.

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Christ 1095.

The Bishops, in Obedience to the Pope's Command, made it their whole Business to preach and promote the intended Expedition in all the Cities, Towns, and Villages under their Jurisdiction, and so magnified it, that Men, persuaded that the taking of the Cross would atone for every Sin, and so answer all the Purposes of Repentance and a holy Life, crowded, without Distinction of Age or Condition, from all Parts to serve under such Princes as were willing to put themselves at their Head. This Infatuation prevailed so universally in the Western Kingdoms, that an Army was assembled the following Year, consisting of no fewer than Three hundred thousand Menⁿ. Women and even Children shewed no less Eagerness to serve in this Holy War than Men, and would, had they not been restrained, have doubled the Number of those already too numerous Armies. Several great Lords, seized with this epidemical Phrenzy, sold their Lordships and Demesnes at half their Value, thinking they only wanted a little ready Money to provide themselves with Arms and conquer Kingdoms in the East. Thus *Godfrey of Buillon*, among the rest, sold that Lordship to the Bishop of *Liege*, whose Successors possess great Part of it to this Day, and at the same time the Castle of *Stenay*, with the Lands belonging to it, to the Bishop of *Verdun*, who likewise purchased of *Baldwin*, *Godfrey's* Brother, the little he had in that Country. Thus while the temporary Princes, says Father *Maimbourg*, abandoned their Territories for the Love of God, the Clergy, improving their Devotion to their own Advantage, enriched themselves with their Spoils^o. This Design was first formed by *Gregory VII.* as has been observed above; and so far as we can judge from the Principles and Views of that Pope, as well as from the Use we shall see his Successors make of it, we have but too much Reason to believe, that it proceeded from a very different Zeal from that for Religion, or for the Relief of the persecuted Christians in the East. The Holy War, as it is called, lasted near 200 Years, cost perhaps more Christian Blood than had been shed before in all the Wars the Christians had made, and none in the end gained any thing by it but the Church and the Popes.

The Bishops
preach the
Crusade in
their respec-
tive Dioceses.

And with
great Success.

ⁿ Guill. Tyr. l. i. c. 15. Petrus Diac. Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 11. ^a Spond. Epist. Baron. ad ann. 1095. ^o Maimbourg. Hist. des Croisades, l. i. p. 46.

Year of Christ 1095. The Pope continued in *France* after the Council of *Clermont* in *November* 1095 till the latter End of *September* 1096, visiting different Places, consecrating Churches, holding Councils, and preaching every-where the Crusade. He held a Council at *Limoges* in *December*, in which he is said to have deposed *Humbald* Bishop of that City. He held Two other Councils, the One at *Tours* in the Third Week of Lent, the other at *Nismes* in *July*. In the latter he absolved King *Philip*, who had dismissed *Bertrada*, from the Excommunication, forbid Lay Investitures, and the receiving any Benefice whatever from a Layman, excommunicated those, who should presume to arrest a Clerk or imprison him, and declared the Monks, whom he compared to Angels, being himself a Monk, qualified to exercise the sacerdotal Functions, and as they had renounced the World to serve God in Retirement, more worthy than they, who lived in it, of the Power to preach, to baptize, to absolve Men from their Sins, to impose Penance, and administer the Eucharist^p. The Pope visited several other Places, viz. *Angers*, *Poitiers*, *Toulouse*, *Saintes*, *Bordeaux*, and the Isle of *Maguelore*, which he consecrated, absolving those from all their Sins, who were, or should be thenceforth buried there. At *Tours* Urban performed on the Fourth *Sunday* of Lent the Ceremony of Blessing a Golden Rose filled with Musk and Balsam, which he wore that Day, and then gave to *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*. Some will have the Custom of Blessing a Golden Rose on the Fourth *Sunday* in Lent, and afterwards sending it to some Prince, or Person of great Distinction, to have been first introduced by this Pope. But from a Bull of *Leo IX.* in 1050 it appears, that this Custom obtained then. For by that Bull the Pope grants many Privileges to a Monastery of Women built by him in the City of *Bamberg*, and obliges them to send yearly to *Rome* a Golden Rose to be blessed by him and his Successors on the Fourth *Sunday* of Lent, or the Value of such a Rose^q. From *France* the Pope returned to *Italy* in the latter End of *September* of the present Year 1096, staid some time at *Lucca*, and went from thence to *Milan*, where he preached to an immense Multitude of People come from all Parts to hear him, shewing, in his Discourse, that the lowest Clerk is greater, and more to be respected than the greatest King^r. All the Popes after *Gregory* having made it their Study to debate Princes

Urban returns to Italy and Rome.

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^p Concil. tom. x. p. 605.
^r Landu'ph. in Chron. c. 28.

^q Theophyl. Raynaud. de Rosa Mediana, &c.

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and exalt the Clergy. *Urban* returned soon after to *Rome*, and was there received by the People, the Clergy, and the Nobility, with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, the Friends of his Rival *Guibert* being obliged to save themselves in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, which they still held.*

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Christ 1096.

In the mean time the Crusaders set out in vast Numbers from *France, Italy, and Germany*, on their March into the East. The first Hoard, as we may call it, consisting of near Three hundred thousand Men, marched off in Three distinct Bodies, the One commanded by *Peter* the Hermit, the chief Promoter of this Expedition, the other by a Monk named *Godescalc*, and the Third by *Gualterius sine habere*, as he is called by the contemporary Writers, that is *moneyless Gualter*. As the End of this holy Undertaking was to extirpate the Enemies of Christ and the Christian Religion, the Crusaders, looking upon the *Jews* in that Light, began with them, and in passing through *Germany*, where great Numbers of that Nation resided, they inhumanly murdered them all without Distinction of Sex or Age. We are told, that at *Verdun, Spire, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz*, those unhappy Wretches, finding they could no otherwise avoid falling into the Hands of their merciless Enemies, barricaded themselves in their Houses, and there killed one another, that the Mothers cut the Throats of their suckling Infants, that Husbands and Fathers put to death their Wives and Children, and that none of them escaped the Fury of the holy Warriors, but such as abjured *Judaism* and embraced Christianity. As the Crusaders burnt, plundered, and destroyed every Thing in the Countries through which they passed, and even massacred the Inhabitants for not starving themselves to support the Soldiers of Christ with Plenty of Provisions, the People flew every where to Arms in their own Defence, and falling upon those Free-booters, made such Havock of them; especially in *Hungary and Bulgaria*, that the Hermit, upon his Arrival at *Constantinople* on the First of *August* of the present Year, could scarce muster 20000 Men. He was there joined by the other two Bodies, that had got thither before him, but were greatly weakened, having suffered no less for the Disorders they committed on their March than the Body he commanded. They were kindly received by the Emperor *Alexius*, who ordered them to be supplied with all Necessaries; but he was against their crossing the *Hellepont*, the

The Crusaders begin their March into the East.

Their Behaviour in the Countries through which they passed.

They arrive at Constantinople.

* Bertold. in Chron.

* Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1096. Albert. Agenf.

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Turks being Masters of the whole Country beyond it, till they were reinforced by other Bodies, which, he heard, were on their March to join them. The Hermit acquiesced; but his Men, under no Kind of Discipline, began, in the mean time, to lay waste the neighbouring Country, to plunder and set on fire the Houses and Villas of the *Greek* Lords, as if they were come to make War upon them, and enrich themselves with their Spoils; nay these Soldiers of Christ, as they called themselves, regardless of all Religion, and prompted by the Love of Booty, which alone had induced most of them to engage in this Undertaking, even stript the Churches of the Lead, with which they were covered, and sold it to the *Greeks* themselves. In short there was no Evil, which they did not commit, *non cessabant agere omnia Mala*, says an anonymous Writer, who lived at this time, approved of the Expedition, and was no Friend to the *Greeks*^w. This Behaviour made the Emperor change his Mind; and glad to get rid of such troublesome Guests, he supplied them with Shipping to cross the *Hellepont*, little caring what became of them. Being landed

Past the Hellespont and are all cut to Pieces by the Turks.

on the other Side the *Hellepont*, they directed their March, in Two Bodies, or Columns, towards *Nice* in *Asia Minor*, the One commanded by *Raymund* a *German* Lord, and the other by the Hermit. The Body under *Raymund* was attacked by the *Turks*, at a Castle called *Exceregorgos*; and they were all cut in Pieces with their General on St. *Michael's* Day. The other Body fared no better; the *Turks* fell upon them at a Place called *Cinitot*, not far from *Nice*, and not one of them outlived the Slaughter of that Day besides their General, who had the good Luck to make his Escape, and return alone to *Constantinople*, where he was looked upon as a Madman. At *Cinitot* *Gualter sine habere*, who commanded under the Hermit as his Lieutenant-General, was killed, with several other Persons of Distinction^x. The Hermit had, according to the anonymous Historian, resigned the Command of the Army, before that unhappy Affair, finding that his Men would no longer obey his Commands, and was, fortunately for him, returned to *Constantinople*. Such was the Fate of the first Army of the Crusaders. In this Year *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and his Brother *Baldwin* went into the East, and arrived at *Constantinople* on the First of *August* y.

^w Anonym. apud Mabill. Museum Italic. l. i. par. 2.
Chron. Malleacens. ad ann. 1097.

^y Idem ibid.

^x Idem ibid. et

Urban returned to *Rome*, as has been said, in the latter End of the Year 1096, and no farther Mention is made of him by any of the contemporary Historians till the Year 1098, when he received at *Rome*, with extraordinary Marks of Kindness and Esteem, *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. That arrogant Prelate, having, at last, obtained, or rather extorted Leave from the King (*William Rufus*) to go to *Rome*, embarked at *Dover* about the Middle of *October* 1097, and travelling through *France* in the Habit of a Pilgrim, was received at *Lions* by *Hugh*, Archbishop of that City with all the Respect that was due to his Character. He stayed there till Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and then pursuing his Journey to *Rome*, was admitted, the Day after his Arrival in that City, to the Pope, who, laying aside all his Pomp and Grandeur, treated him, in a Manner, as his Equal, allotted him an Apartment in the *Lateran* Palace, appointed proper Persons to attend him, nay, and ordered the same Honours to be paid to the *Apostle of another World*, as he called him, that were paid to himself. But *Anselm* was soon obliged by the excessive Heat to leave *Rome*, and retire to a Villa, that belonged to a Monastery in the Diocese of *Capua*, and was situated on an Eminence at a small Distance from that City. He was invited thither by *John*, formerly Monk in the Monastery of *Bec* in *Normandy*, and acquainted with him while a Monk in the same Monastery. *Anselm* continued there till the Arrival of the Pope, who had appointed a Council to meet at *Bari* on the First of *October* of the present Year, and had ordered him to assist at it. As *Roger* Duke of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, and his Nephew *Roger*, Duke of *Apulia*, were then besieging *Capua*, that had revolted from the *Normans*, the Pope went with *Anselm* to visit those Princes, who met them, at some Distance, attended by all the chief Officers of the Army, and entertained them some Days in their Camp with the greatest Magnificence. The Pope did not fail to interpose his good Offices in Behalf of the besieged; but upon their refusing to hearken to the Terms, which he proposed, he retired with *Anselm* to *Aversa*, and there continued till the Reduction of the Place, when he went to *Salerno* to take his Leave of the Duke of *Sicily*, then upon the Point of returning to that Island.

The famous Bull of the *Monarchy of Sicily* is supposed to have been granted to the Duke at this Interview. The Pope had appointed

* Eadmer. Novor. l. ii. c. 3.

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Robert, Bishop of *Trani*, his Legate *a Latere* in *Sicily*. But the Duke, no Stranger to the Authority those Legates assumed, and the Disturbances which they frequently raised, earnestly entreated the Pope to revoke the Commission, plainly insinuating that he would suffer no Legate in his Dominions. As the Duke had done many signal Services to the Apostolic See, had driven the *Saracens* quite out of *Sicily*, and subjected all the Churches in that Island to the See of *Rome*, though claimed by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Pope not only recalled the Commission he had given to the Bishop, but to engage the Duke still more in the Defence of his See, he conferred upon him all the Power he had granted to his Legate, declaring him, his Heirs, and his Successors, *Legates born*, and vested with Legatine Power in its full Extent. The Bull, granting this unprecedented Privilege, is dated at *Salerno* in the Month of *July*, the Seventh Indiction, and in the Eleventh Year of Pope *Urban*, that is, in 1098; and *Baronius* has inserted it at Length in the Eleventh Volume of his Annals, to which I refer the Reader. Though this Bull is thought by most Men of Learning to be entirely fictitious, yet the Kings of *Arragon*, to whom *Sicily* was subject for many Years, claimed and exercised the Legatine Power as the Successors of Duke *Roger*. It has been likewise claimed, and sometimes exercised by all the Princes, who have been Masters of that Island since their Time, and even in our Days by the late Duke of *Savoy*. For *Clement XI.* having in 1715 published Two Bulls, the one abolishing the *Monarchy*, as it is called, and the other establishing a new Ecclesiastical Hierarchy or Government, the Duke banished all, who received either; and on that Occasion Swarms of Jesuits were sent from *Sicily* to *Rome* as they have been lately from *Portugal* to *Rome*; so that no Change was made in the Ecclesiastical Polity, and the *Monarchy* still subsists in its full Force. In Virtue of *Urban's* Bull, whoever is Master of *Sicily* is Pope of that Kingdom, is supreme Head of the Church there, has a Power to excommunicate and absolve all Persons, whatever, Ecclesiastics as well as Laymen, and Cardinals themselves, residing in that Island, to preside at all Provincial Councils, and, in short, to exercise all Jurisdiction, that a Legate *a Latere*, vested with the fullest Legatine Power, can exercise: and this extensive Jurisdiction the Kings of *Sicily* may exercise by their Lieutenants, Viceroyes, and Governors. It is to be observed, that as the Kingdom of *Sicily* may fall to Females, a Woman may be at the Head of the Church

in

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Sicily as well as in *England*; which however is a standing Joke with the *Roman* Catholics, and even, what has not a little surprised me, with that incomparable Historian *Pietro Giannoni*, though he finds no Fault with the spiritual Monarchy of *Sicily*, including more Power than any King of *England* ever claimed, and yet liable to fall to the Distaff, as it actually did in the Time of *Jane of Arragon* and *Castile*. Year of Christ 1098.

From *Salerno* the Pope repaired to *Bari* to preside at the Council, Council of Bari. which he had appointed to meet there on the First of *October* of the present Year. It consisted of One hundred and Eighty-three Bishops, among whom was *Anselm*, and several *Greek* Bishops, whom *Urban* had invited in order to attempt a Reconciliation between them and the *Latins*, who wanted their Friendship and Assistance to carry on the War against the Infidels with the wished-for Success. The Acts of this Council have not reached our Times, and all we know of it is, that the Point, which had been so often debated, was here debated anew, *viz.* whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only; that in this Dispute *Anselm* distinguished himself above all the rest, and silenced the *Greeks* with Passages, not from the Fathers, but from the Scripture alone; that all were astonished at his profound Knowledge, at the Strength and Perspicuity of his Reasonings, and that the Pope and the other Bishops of the Council vied, in a manner, with each other in commending and extolling him. *William* of *Malmsbury* writes that *Anselm*, out of Modesty, sat silent, leaving the other Bishops to dispute with the *Greeks*, till the Pope, recollecting that he was present, (for in the Hurry of Affairs he had forgot to allot him his proper Place) addressed him thus; *Anselm, Archbishop of the English, our Father and Master, where are you?* That *Anselm* rising up at these Words, the Pope bid him draw near, and placing him by the Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, who, according to the Custom that then obtained, sat before him, he told him aloud that his Eloquence and Knowledge were wanted to put an End to the present Dispute, encouraged him to undertake the Defence of the Church his holy Mother as sent by God for that Purpose, and satisfy the *Greeks* that the Opinion, which they so obstinately maintained, was not only erroneous but heretical. The Historian adds, that upon the Bishops of the Council asking, who he was, whom his Holiness thus distinguished,

^a Eadmer. Novor. l. ii. c. 9,

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and whence he came, *Urban* took from thence Occasion to honour *Anselm* with the Title of *Pope of another World*, extolling him for his eminent Virtues, for his Humility, for his Learning, and above all for the Zeal, with which he had maintained, against the King of *England*, the undoubted Rights of the Apostolic See. Thus *Malmsbury* ^b; but *Eadmerus*, who was present, is silent with Respect to most of those Particulars ^c. *Anselm* was afterwards prevailed upon by his Friends to publish the Passages and Arguments, which he alledged in this Council against the Error of the *Greeks*; and they are to be met with in his Treatise upon the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*, which is still extant.

*Diverts the
Pope from
excommuni-
cating the
King.*

As *Anselm* had complained to the Pope of the King of *England*, charging him with extorting large Sums from the Churches in his Dominions, with seizing on the Temporalities of his Bishopric after his Departure, and denying Bishops Leave to go to *Rome*, his Complaints were by the Pope laid before the Council, as well as the ill Treatment which *Anselm* pretended to have met with at his Hands. The Pope added, that he had admonished the King Three times, and exhorted him to alter his Conduct, but that no Regard had been paid to his Admonitions, and that he therefore applied to them for their Advice. The Bishops answered with one Voice, that since his Holiness had admonished him Three times, and he had hearkened to none of his paternal and repeated Admonitions, nothing now remained but to strike him with an Anathema, that he might thus, at least, be retrieved from his wicked Ways. At these Words *Anselm*, who had hitherto kept Silence, starting up, threw himself at the Pope's Feet, and what with his Tears, what with his Prayers and Entreaties, prevailed upon him, in the end, to suspend the Sentence. *Urban* however wrote to the King, reproaching him with his Behaviour towards *Anselm*, ordering him to restore the Temporalities of his See, which he had unjustly usurped, and reinstate him in his Dignity. *Anselm* wrote at the same time to the King, who received the Pope's Letter, but would not receive his, looking upon him as an Enemy to the Peace and Welfare of his Kingdom, nay being informed, that the Bearer of those Letters was the Archbishop's Servant, he swore by St. *Luke's* Face, his usual Oath, that if he did not immediately leave the Kingdom he would order his Eyes to be plucked out ^d.

^b *Malmf. de Gest. Pont. Angl. l. i.*

^c *Eadmer. ubi supra.*

^d *Idem ibid.*

From *Bari* the Pope returned with *Anselm* to *Rome*, and there received, in the latter End of *December*, an Answer from the King of *England* to the Letter he had writ to him in Favour of the Archbishop. As in that Letter the King rather justified than excused his Conduct, the Pope ordered the Envoy to return, without Delay, to *England*, and tell his Master, in the Name of St. *Peter*, that if he did not reinstate the Archbishop in all his Possessions, the Sentence of Excommunication would be inevitably thundered out against him. He added, that he had appointed a Council to meet at *Rome* the third Week after Easter, and therefore desired the King would acquaint him, before the Meeting of that Assembly, with his final Resolution. But the Envoy, named *William*, was a Man of Parts and Address, and having brought with him many rich and valuable Presents, he knew so well how to dispose of them, that he not only obtained Leave to stay a long Time at *Rome*, but prevailed upon the Pope to suspend the Sentence, with which he had threatened the King, till Michaelmas, that is, for Nine Months and upwards ^e.

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Christ 1098.

The Pope
threatens the
King of
England;

but is ap-
peased.

In the mean time the Council met at *Rome* on Sunday the third Week after Easter, which, in 1099 fell on the last Day of *April*. They assembled in the Church of St. *Peter*, being One hundred and Fifty Bishops, besides other Ecclesiastics of all Ranks and Degrees, and an infinite Multitude of Laymen. By this Council were confirmed the Decrees of the Two former Councils of *Placentia* and *Clermont*, and Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced by the Pope and all the Bishops, who were present, against all Laymen who should presume to give Investitures, and all Ecclesiastics who should dare to receive them, or ordain those who had. This Sentence extended to such Ecclesiastics as did Homage to Laymen for any Benefice or Preferment, it being thought beneath the Office and the Dignity of the Clergy to serve Laymen as their Slaves, and, in a manner, as their Hand-maids. The Decrees of other Councils against married Clerks were renewed, and all were forbidden to communicate with them till they had dismissed their Concubines ^f. As the Church was greatly crowded, and the continual Noise of some coming in and others going out prevented the Decrees and Resolutions of the Assembly from being heard by all, the Pope ordered *Reinger*, Bishop of *Lucca*, who had a strong and clear Voice, to stand up and read them aloud. The Bishop obeyed, but stopping unexpectedly

Council of
Rome.
Year of
Christ 1099.

^e Ead. et Malmf. ubi supra.

^f Concil. t. x. p. 615.

Year of
Christ 1099.
The Cause
of Anselm
warmly re-
commended
by one of the
Bishops.

in the midst of the Decrees, and fixing his Eyes upon the numerous Audience, *But what are we about?* he said, *We are loading those with new Ordinances, who submit to us, but afford no Relief to those, who want our Protection and are come to implore it. The whole World complains, that the Head does not grieve with the Members. Behold, one sits here modestly and silently among us, but his Silence cries aloud: He has been stript of every thing he possessed, and hoped to be redressed here: But this is the Second Year of his being among us; and what Relief has he yet received? No Relief at all. Anselm is the Person I speak of, Anselm Archbishop of England.* Having uttered these Words, to shew his Zeal and Indignation he struck the Ground with his Crosser, fixing his Eyes again on the Audience. The Pope, whom he chiefly seemed to point at, heard him with great Calmness, and when he had done, calling him by the Name of *Brother Reinger*, he bid him give himself no farther Trouble, for a Remedy should be found and in due time applied. The Bishop replied, It is but fit, for the just Judge will not suffer such Things to go unpunished. *Reinger* then resumed the Decrees. The Historian adds, that *Anselm* had no Share in this Declaration, but on the contrary was greatly disturbed at it.

Second Army
of the
Crusade.

In the mean time another grand Army, consisting of better disciplined Troops, and commanded by more experienced Officers, took different Routs into the East. Among these were *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, elder Brother of *William Rufus*, to whom he mortgaged his Dominions for the necessary Money to equip himself for that Expedition^a. *Hugh*, surnamed the *Great*, Brother to *Philip*, King of *France*, Count of *Flanders*, *Boamond*, the Son of the famous *Robert Guiscard*, his nephew *Tancred*ⁱ, *Raimund*, Count of *Thoulouse*, Lord of *Languedoc*, and great Part of *Provence*, and many other Persons of great Distinction. *Raimund* led near a Hundred thousand Men, *Godfrey of Bouillon* Seventy thousand Foot and Ten thousand Horse, *Boamond* Seven thousand Horse completely armed, with some Infantry, and the other Princes had all large Bodies under their Command; insomuch that this Second Army was far more numerous than the First. The Emperor *Alexius*, tho' greatly alarmed at the Arrival of such vast Armies in his Dominions, ordered them to be plentifully supplied with Provisions, and Markets

^a Malmsh. l. i.
c. 7.

^b Eadmer. Novor. l. i. c. 2.

ⁱ Anna Comnena, l. iv.

to be erected for that Purpose in all the Places, through which they passed. He even sent Interpreters, who understood their different Languages, to prevent any Misunderstanding between them and the Natives. But the Insolence, with which they behaved even to the Emperor himself, can scarce be conceived. *Anna Comnena*, the Emperor's Daughter, tells us, that while her Father was one Day sitting in his Throne at a public Ceremony, a *French* Count placed himself in the Throne by him, telling *Baldwin*, Brother to *Godfrey of Bouillon*, upon his taking him by the Hand to remove him, that he thought it unmannerly in the *Greek* Clown to sit down in the Presence of Men of their Rank. His Words were interpreted to the Emperor, who instead of resenting them, only smiled at the Rusticity of the Count^k. *Alexius*, wisely overlooking their haughty Behaviour, and the many Disorders they committed while in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, treated their Princes with the greatest Grandeur and Politeness, especially *Boamund*, whom he feared the most, as he had experienced his Valour in the War, which his Father had made upon the Empire in *Epirus*, where he gained, in 1083, a complete Victory over the Imperial army, though in Number greatly superior to his, and commanded by the Emperor in Person. But *Boamund*, in spite of all the Emperor's Civilities and many rich Presents he sent him, was for beginning the War with the Siege of *Constantinople*, painting the Emperor as a crafty designing Man, as a sworn Enemy to the *Latin* Name, and one from whom they had no less to fear than from the Infidels themselves. He had inherited of his Father an Aversion to the *Greeks*, had engaged in this Enterprize merely to better his Fortune, his Father having only left him the small Principality of *Tarentum*, and was therefore for enriching himself with the Spoils of the Imperial City. But his Proposal was rejected with great Indignation by the *French*, declaring that they had left their Country and all that was dear to them to make War upon the Infidels, and redeem their Christian Brethren from the Tyranny they groaned under, and that it was fit they should live in Amity with them, and restore what the common Enemy had taken from them^l. *Boamund* acquiesced, and an Agreement was concluded between them and *Alexius*, who bound himself by a solemn Oath to assist, and supply them with Provisions so far as in him lay,

^k Ann. Comnena, l. iv. c. 7.

^l Orderic, l. ix.

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Christ 1099.

while they, on their Side, promised to abstain from all Hostilities in the Countries still subject to the *Greek Empire* ^m. Soon after this Agreement the Emperor, no less impatient to get rid of this than of the first Army, lost no time in supplying them with Shipping to cross the *Hellespont* into *Asia Minor*, and take the Field against the *Turks*, Masters of almost that whole Province. They were found, upon a Muster after their Landing, to amount to an Hundred thousand Horse, and near Five hundred thousand Foot, including Servants, Viſualers, Priests, and Women, whom those pious Soldiers of Christ made no Scruple, as the Historian informs us, criminally to converse with ⁿ. The *Turks* drew together all the Forces they could muster, but were in Two pitched Battles defeated with the Loss, as we are told, of Two hundred thousand Men, whereas there fell on the Side of the Christians but Thirteen thousand, among whom was *Monteil*, Bishop of *Puy* in *Auvergne*, and the Pope's Legate ^o. Encouraged with these Two signal Victories, they invested the City of *Nice*, and made themselves Masters of that important Place after a Seven Weeks Siege. This happened in 1097, and the same Year they laid Siege to *Antioch*, which City the *Turks* defended with great Resolution and Intrepidity for the Space of Eight Months. But the Christians having in the mean time gained a Third Victory, as complete as either of the other Two, the Garrison was thereby so disheartened, that they thenceforth made but a faint Resistance, and the Place was carried by Assault on *Thursday* the Third of *June* 1098^p. The City of *Antioch* was taken by the *Turks* in 1089, and the Princes of the Crusade ought, in Justice, to have restored it to the Emperor, from whom the Infidels had taken it. But instead of returning it to the lawful Owner, they all, with One Consent, gave it, with its fertile Territory, to *Boamund*, who had no less distinguished himself by his Conduct than his Courage. No Wonder that the Emperor was not so hearty in their Cause as might have been expected, when he found that they were to keep the Countries, which they conquered, and he was to get nothing by their Victories. Had he foreseen the Consequences of his applying to the Pope for Relief, he would have contented himself with defending his Dominions, in the best Manner he could, with his own Forces. The

^m Orderic, l. ix.
ann. 1097.

ⁿ Guill. Tyr. l. i. c. 17.
^p Idem ad ann. 1098.

^o Chron. Malleac. ad

Princes of the Crusade continued Five Months at *Antioch* and in that Neighbourhood, to allow some Respite to their Men, quite spent with the Fatigues they had undergone. But they took the Field again early in the Spring, and having, not without great Loss of Men, reduced several Strong-holds, they at last approached the City of *Jerusalem*, which was invested to the North by *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*, and to the South by *Raimund* Count of *Thoulouse*. The Siege lasted Five Months, and the City was taken, in Spite of the obstinate Resistance of a numerous Garrison, by Scalade, on *Friday* the Fifteenth Day of *July* 1099. A Soldier, named *Letot*, was the first that scaled the Wall, and Duke *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* the second. The *Turks* were all massacred, and while the Streets were yet streaming with their Blood, a solemn Procession was made, to return Thanks to the Almighty for the Recovery of the holy City and the holy Sepulchre. They spent Eight Days in Devotion, and in Massacres, and then proceeded to the Election of a King of *Jerusalem*, when *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* was unanimously elected. He accepted the Dignity, but rejected the Diadem, declaring that he would not wear a Crown of Gold where his Lord had worn one of Thorns¹. As *Simeon*, the Greek Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, died during the Siege, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, the Princes of the Crusade appointed one *Arnulph*, a *Latin* Clerk, as the Historian calls him, for his Successor². *John*, the Greek Patriarch of *Antioch*, not chusing to keep his See under the *Latins*, though he had kept it under the *Turks*, resigned it at the End of Two Years after the Reduction of the Place, and retired to *Constantinople*. Upon his Resignation *Bernard*, Chaplain to the Pope's Legate, was preferred to the Patriarchal See of *Antioch* in his room. And thus were Two of the Patriarchal Sees in the East filled with *Latins*. And thus far of the Crusade, to the taking of *Jerusalem*.

Urban did not live long enough to receive the joyful Tidings of the Surrender of *Jerusalem*. That City was taken, as has been said, on the Fifteenth of *July* 1099, and the Pope died at *Rome* the same Year on the 29th of the same Month, after a Pontificate of Eleven Years Four Months and Eighteen Days, including the Day of his Death. He may be stiled another *Gregory VII*; for he adopted all his Principles, confirmed all his Decrees, and pursued, with no less

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Christ 1099.

¹ Guill. Tyr. l. ix. c. 9.

² Albert Aquens, l. vi.

Year of
Christ 1099.
His Character.

Vigour than *Gregory* himself, though perhaps with more Art and Address, the grand Work which that Pope had begun, that of establishing the temporal as well as the spiritual Monarchy of his See. He was buried in the *Vatican*, and his Tomb being discovered in later Times, the following Epitaph was engraved upon it, *Urbanus II. Auctor Expeditionis in Infideles*, *Urban II.* Author of the Expedition against the Infidels. As he was a Monk, and a great Friend to the Monkish Orders, he is highly commended by them for his eminent Virtues, and even said to have wrought some Miracles. But his Miracles have gained no Credit even in the Church. For though he has a Place in the *Benedictine* Martyrology, with the Title of *Blessed*, he has never been admitted into the *Roman*. In this Pope's Time, and in 1084. was founded the Order of the *Carthusians* by *Bruno*, Canon first of *Cologne*, and afterwards of *Reims*. They were called *Carthusians* from the Desert, to which *Bruno* first retired with his Companions. By their Institution they are to observe perpetual Silence. But as many of them, overcome with Melancholy, put an End to their own Lives, *Clement XI.* dispensed, in our Days, with the Observance of Silence one Day in the Week.

The Carthusian Order founded.

ALEXIUS COMNENUS,
Emperor of the East.

PASCHAL II.

HENRY IV. HENRY V.
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and fifty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

Paschal
elected.

URBAN dying on the Twenty-ninth of *July*, the Cardinals, Bishops, and Clergy of *Rome*, with the Heads of the People, assembled on the Thirteenth of *August* in the Church of *St. Clement*, to proceed to the Election of a new Pope, when Cardinal *Rainerius*, or *Ragingerus*, was unanimously elected. When he found they were determined to chuse him, he privately withdrew, and concealed himself, hoping they might, in the mean time, prefer another to the Dignity, of which he thought himself of all the most unworthy. But as he did not conceal himself so as not to be discovered, he was soon brought back, and some of his Friends crying out, when he appeared again in the Assembly, *Paschal is Pope, St. Peter has chosen*

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chofen him, the whole Assembly resounded with the same Words, and he was immediately carried to the *Lateran* Palace, and there in-
 throned, or placed, with the usual Ceremony, in the Pontifical Throne. He was consecrated the very next Day, that is, on the Fourteenth of *August*, which in 1099 fell on a Sunday, in the Church of *St. Peter*, by the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Porto*, *Albano*, *Lavici*, *Præneste*, and *Nepi*^a. *Pandulphus Pisanus*, who wrote the Life of *Paschal*, describes here the Ceremony of the Pope's Inthronation. He put on, as soon as elected, a scarlet Mantle, the Cardinals wearing then only Purple, as all Bishops do now, and a Cap of State being placed upon his Head, he went in that Attire, on Horse-back, from the Place of the Election to the *Lateran*, attended by the Electors, and Crowds of People singing Hymns. He alighted at the South Gate of the Basilic, and sat down in a Chair, that was placed there. Then entering the Palace, he came to Two Chairs, and being there girt with a Belt, from which hung Seven Keys, and Seven Seals, Emblems of the Sevenfold Grace of the Holy Ghost, which was to direct him in loosing and binding, he was placed first in the one and then in the other; and the Ferula, Pastoral Staff, or Crosier, was delivered to him. When this Ceremony was over he was Master of the *Lateran* Palace, and allowed to go alone into those Apartments, which none but the *Roman* Pontiffs were allowed to set their Foot in. Thus *Pandulphus Pisanus*, who adds, that *Paschal* was crowned as well as consecrated in the *Vatican*, whereas other Popes were, so far as we can learn from *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, inthroned in the *Lateran* Palace, consecrated in the *Vatican*, and from thence reconducted to the *Lateran* and crowned there^b. We are told that the Election of *Paschal* was miraculous, that it was foreseen by a holy Bishop named *Albert*, and that he knew by divine Revelation, that *Paschal* would hold the See *four Times Four and Three*, that is, Nineteen Years^c; which indeed happened, but the Prophecy was not made public till it was fulfilled.

Paschal was a Native of *Tuscany*, the Son of one *Crescentius*, His Birth, and being brought up from his Infancy in the Monastery of *Cluny*,^{Education, &c.} he there embraced, while yet very young, a monastic Life. He was afterwards sent to *Rome* by his Abbot upon some Affairs relating to

^a Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1099. Pandulph. Pisan. in ejus Vit. in Nich. i.
^c Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1099. Dodechin. et Pandulph. Pi-

^b Anast.

fan. in vit. Pasch.

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Christ 1099.

the Monastery; and *Gregory VII.* in whose Pontificate he came, finding him, on that Occasion, to be a Man of uncommon Parts, kept him with him, and as he fully answered his Expectation, he caused him to be ordained Priest, preferred him to the Dignity of Cardinal, and made him Abbot of *St. Lawrence* d.

Is informed
by the Princes
of the Cru-
sade of their
Success.

The Princes of the Crusade took Care to acquaint the new Pope with the Success that had attended their Arms in the East, by a Letter directed to his Holiness, to all the Bishops, and to all the Faithful in general e. *Paschal* was transported with Joy at the News of the Reduction of the Holy City, and no less at the Discovery of Part of the true Cross, and the Lance, with which the *Roman* Soldier pierced our Saviour's Side. But he did not at all approve of the Election of *Arnulph*, whom they had preferred to the Patriarchal See of *Jerusalem*, and he was therefore deposed in a Council held in that City, and *Diabert*, Bishop of *Pisa*, whom the Pope had appointed his Legate in the East, was chosen Patriarch in his room.

Guibert dies.
Year of
Christ 1100.

In the Beginning of the second Year of *Paschal's* Pontificate, that is, in *September* or *October* 1100, died *Guibert*, who had assumed the Name of *Clement III.* and being supported by the Emperor and the Imperial Party, had given so much Trouble to Three Popes, viz. *Gregory VII. Victor III.* and *Urban II.* He maintained, at least, the Name of Pope for the Space of Twenty Years. But being driven from *Rome* by the *Romans* in *Urban's* Time, and from his Bishopric of *Ravenna* by *Paschal*, he retired, according to some to *Citta di Castello*, according to others, to the Mountains of *Abruzzo*, and died suddenly. He is allowed even by his Enemies to have been a Man of Parts, of great Address, Eloquence and Learning f. *Guibert's* Friends no sooner heard of his Death than they chose one *Albert* in his room. But he was taken the very Day of his Election, and confined by *Paschal* to the Monastery of *St. Lawrence*. In his room was chosen a *Roman*, named *Theodoric*, who fared not much better; for he too fell into *Paschal's* Hands One hundred and Five Days after his Election, and was shut up in the Monastery of *Cava* near *Palestrina*. Lastly, the Partizans of *Guibert* elected an Archpriest called *Magninulph*, who took the Name of *Silvester IV.* But *Paschal's* Party prevailing, *Silvester*, though he wanted not Friends,

Three Anti-
popes.

d Bertold. in Chron. ad ann. 1099. Dodechin. et Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Pasch.
e Dodechin. ad ann. 1100. f Usperg. Dodechin. &c.

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was forced to leave *Rome*, and Death prevented his attempting, as he intended, to return to it g. Year of
Christ 1100.

Paschal, having now no Rival to contend with, began to apply himself to the Functions of his Office; and being informed that *Philip* of *France* had recalled *Bertrada* to Court, and lived in public Adultery with her, as he had done before, he sent Two Cardinals to *France*, *John* and *Benedict*, with the Character of his Legates, to admonish the King, and, if he did not mend upon their Admonitions, to cut him off as a rotten Member from the Body of the Church. The Legates, on their Arrival in *France*, acquainted the King with their Commission; but finding that he paid no Kind of Regard either to their Exhortations or their Menaces, they left the Court, and repairing to *Poitiers* assembled a Council there, which is said to have consisted of One hundred and Forty Bishops. They met on the Eighteenth of *November* of the present Year, made Sixteen Canons, calculated to redress some Abuses that obtained in the *Gallican* Churches, and when the Canons were read, One of the Legates standing up acquainted the Assembly with the Endeavours they had used, by his Holiness's Command, but used in vain, to retrieve the King from his Wickedness, expressed great Concern at his being obliged to proceed to such Extremities, and then, with the Approbation of the Council, pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against the King, and at the same time against his adulterous Concubine *Bertrada*^h. At this Council was present *William*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, who, provoked at their presuming to excommunicate the King, ordered his Servants and Attendants to fall upon them, and put them all, without Mercy, to the Sword. The Order would have been executed had not the Members of the Council, all but Two Abbots, disappeared the Moment it was given; and these the Duke spared as the more worthy to live the less they valued their Lives.

Philip of
France ex-
communicat-
ed.

William Rufus, King of *England*, being this Year unfortunately killed, his Brother *Henry* I. got Possession of the Crown in the Absence of *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, his elder Brother then in *Palestine*, was consecrated at *London* by *Maurinus*, Bishop of that City, and acknowledged by the Bishops as well as the Nobility. But as he did not doubt that his Brother would return, and claim the Crown as the Elder of the Two, to gain the Pope, or, at least, to prevent

Anselm re-
turns to Eng-
land.

^g Pindulph. Sigebert.
Grossin. vit. Bernard.

^h Concil. t. x. p. 720, 721.

ⁱ Gaufred.

him

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him from openly espousing the Cause of his Brother, in whose Favour he knew him to be greatly prejudiced on account of his engaging in the Holy War, he recalled *Anselm*, than which he could do nothing more pleasing to the Pope, and reinstated him in his See. Of this Step, the King had soon Occasion to repent, though it appeared to him of Two Evils the least. For *Anselm* going to Court a few Days after his Arrival, and being there required to do Homage to the King after the Example of his Predecessors, and receive his Archbishopric from his Hand, he declared without the least Hesitation, against the one and the other, adding, that if the King was resolved to receive and observe the Decrees of the Apostolic See, nothing should interrupt the Peace and Harmony between them, but if he was not, he could not in Conscience, nor in Honour remain in *England*, since he should be obliged, if the King disposed of Bishoprics and Abbies, to deprive himself of his Communion, as well as of the Communion of those, who received them at his Hand. This Resolution in *Anselm* was entirely agreeable to the Decrees of the late Council of *Bari*, at which he had assisted, forbidding, upon Pain of Excommunication, Laymen to give and Ecclesiastics to receive Investitures from them, or to do them Homage. The King well knew that his Predecessors had Time out of Mind both nominated and invested all the Bishops of the Kingdom, and that their Right had never been disputed. However, as he was unwilling to quarrel with the Archbishop at so critical a Juncture, it was agreed between them, that both should send to *Rome* to consult the Pope, and the Point in Dispute should be dropt till Easter of the following Year 1101*. In the mean time the King marrying *Mathilda*, the Daughter of *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, by his Queen St. *Margaret*, *Anselm* performed the nuptial Ceremony, and afterwards consecrated and crowned the Queen.

The Pope attempts to introduce the Legatine Power into England.

Year of
Christ 1101.

During this Truce, as *Eadmer* calls it, between the King and the Archbishop, the Pope, knowing that the Archbishop was wholly in his Interest, resolved to lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity to introduce the Legatine Power into *England*, a Power above all other Power but that of the Pope himself. *Paschal* sent over accordingly *Guido*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, afterwards Pope under the Name of *Calixtus* II. with the Character of his Legate *a Latere*. But this

* *Eadmer*, l. i. c. 3.

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was a Thing unheard of in *England*, says the Historian, it struck all with Admiration, and as no Power had ever yet been known in *England* above that of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, all declared that they would own no other; and as the Legate came, so he returned, being by none acknowledged, or allowed to exercise any Function whatever of his Office¹. Legates had been sent from *Rome* into *England* long before this Time. *Gregory* Bishop of *Ostia*, and *Theophylact* Bishop of *Todi*, came into this Kingdom in the Reign of King *Offa*, in the Year 786, being sent by *Hadrian* I. to enquire into the State of the *English* Church; and they told the *English* Bishops, in the Speech which they made to them, that they were the First Priests that had been sent from *Rome* to *England* since the Time of *Austin*^m. But it does not appear, that those Legates exercised, or even claimed any Power over the *English* Bishops: they only assisted them with their Advice and Directions. In the Pontificate of *Alexander* II. and the Beginning of the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, Three Legates came from *Rome* to *England*; but it was at the King's Request that the Pope sent them, and they acted only as directed and instructed by him, desirous of casting upon them the Odium of his intended Innovations, and arbitrary Proceedings against the *English* in Favour of the *Norman* Clergy. But *Guido* was sent by *Paschal*, unknown to the King and the whole Nation, to exercise here the same uncontrouled Power over all Persons, Laymen as well as Ecclesiastics, as was exercised by the Legates in the Countries, that had unadvisedly admitted them. It is to be observed, that *Anselm*, however zealous for the Papal Power, did not in the least interest himself in behalf of the Legate, sensible that his own Power and Authority would be eclipsed by his; nay, *Eadmer*, who was his Secretary and inseparable Companion, and may be therefore supposed to have spoken his Sentiments, exclaims against the Legatine Power, as a Thing altogether unprecedented in *England*ⁿ.

As the Envoys, sent to *Rome* by the King and the Archbishop, did not come back by *Easter*, they consented to prolong their Agreement till their Return. In the mean time *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, returning from the *Holy Land* upon the News of the Death of the King his Brother, and claiming the Kingdom, which *Henry*,

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Christ 1101.

The Legate
sent back.

¹ Eadmer. l. i. c. 3.
supra.

^m Concil. Brit. l. i. p. 292.

ⁿ Eadmer. ubi

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The King
and the Duke
reconciled by
Means of
Anselm.

The Envoys
of Anselm
and the King
return from
Rome.

The Pope's
Letter to the
King.

his younger Brother had seized, as his Inheritance, landed in *England* with a considerable Force, determined to maintain his Right to the Crown by dint of Arms. Many of the Nobility went over to him, many privately favoured his Cause, and much Blood would have been shed on both Sides, had not *Anselm* been prevailed upon by the Nobility to interpose. By his Mediation, as well as by the Address and prudent Conduct of the King, the Two Brothers were reconciled, and Peace was restored to the Kingdom.

In the mean time returned the Envoys, sent by the King and the Archbishop to *Rome*, with a long Letter from the Pope to the King, calculated to prove Ecclesiastic Investitures to be the incommunicable Right of the Apostolic See. The Reasons he alleged to prove that Paradox were, 1. The Lord declares the Right of investing Bishops to be his alone, saying, *I am the Door* : if Kings therefore pretend to be the Door, says the Pope, they who enter through them, are not Pastors, but Thieves. 2. St. *Ambrose* would not suffer the Emperor to dispose of a Church, telling him that he had no Right to divine Matters, that Emperors might dispose of Palaces, but the disposing of Churches belonged to the Bishops. 3. God, and not Man, is the Author of the Marriage between the Bishop and his Church. 4. He quotes a Law of *Justinian* to prove, that Bishops should be elected by the People, and not by the Prince alone.

These Reasons are all, as every Reader must be sensible, evidently unconcluding. For in the first Place, they, who ordain a Bishop, are the *Door*, through which he enters, and not the Prince, who by Investiture only puts him in Possession of the Temporalities of his Church. All Bishops, and among them many of great Sanctity and most exemplary Lives, had, Time out of Mind, received Investitures from the Princes, under whom they were to enjoy the Temporalities of their Churches, and to whom or to their Predecessors they were indebted for them. And were none of them Pastors? Were they all Thieves? The Emperors were, for several Ages, the *Door*, in *Paschal's* Sense, through which the Popes themselves entered; for they were not to be ordained till their Election was confirmed by those Princes; and were they too all Thieves? Was *Gregory VII.* himself one, who was not consecrated till the Emperor's Pleasure was known? The Instance of St. *Ambrose* is quite foreign to the Purpose; for the Quef-

* Eadmer. in vit. Anselm. l. ii.

† Ead. Novor. l. iii. c. 2.

tion was not, whether the Emperor had a Right to Invest Bishops, ^{Year of} but whether he could grant a Church to the *Arians* that belonged ^{Christ 1107.} to the Catholics? which *Ambrose* maintained he had no Power to do. As to the Marriage of Bishops, Princes did not pretend to marry them to their Churches, but only to put them in Possession of the Dower of their Spouse. With respect to the Law of the Emperor *Justinian*, the Method of Election was different in different Times and Nations. In some Places Bishops were elected by the People and the Clergy of the Diocese, and the Bishops of the Province. In other Places they were nominated by the Prince only, the People acquiescing in his Nomination, and the Bishops of the Province ordaining the Person, whom he had nominated, unless he was unqualified by the Canons, in which Case they remonstrated against his Ordination. In the more early Times the Emperors frequently named the Person, whom they would have preferred, without so much as consulting the People, to prevent popular Tumults, that often ended in Bloodshed. Thus was *Nectarius* nominated by the *Elder*, and *Nestorius* by the *Younger Theodosius*, to the Patriarchal See of *Constantinople*. By the Council of *Arles*, in 952, it was ordained, that upon a Vacancy the Bishops of the Province should nominate Three, and the People and the Clergy should be confined in their Choice to One of the Three. In *Spain*, about the Year 599, the People and Clergy were allowed to nominate Three, and the Metropolitan as well as the Bishops of the Province were to cast Lots, which of the Three should be ordained. The Pope took, it seems, upon Trust the Law of *Justinian*, requiring Bishops to be elected by the People. For by Two of his Novels the common People were entirely excluded from the Elections on Account of the Disturbances they raised, and the *Optimates* alone, that is, People of better Rank, were allowed to concur with their Suffrages^a.

The Reasons, alleged by the Pope to support his Claim, did not, ^{New Envoys} we may well suppose, satisfy the King and the *English* Nation. On ^{sent to Rome} the contrary, they only served to shew the Weakness of his Cause. ^{by the King} The King therefore, knowing he had Justice and immemorial Pre- ^{and the Arch-} scription on his Side, sent for *Anselm*, and told him, that he must either do him Homage, as his Predecessors had all done before him, or quit the Kingdom, for he would suffer no Man to live in his Dominions, who refused, upon any Pretence whatever, to pay him

^a Novel. 123, c. i. et Novel. 127.

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Christ 1101.

that Mark of Obedience and Subjection. *Eadmer* writes, that the King ordered him to ordain the Bishops, whom he should nominate, or to leave the Kingdom that Moment, and that *Anselm* boldly answered, he would do neither, and thereupon retired to *Canterbury*. As the King had all the Bishops as well as the Nobility on his Side, no less steady than the King himself in asserting the undoubted Rights of the Crown against the unjust Usurpations of the Pope, he was determined not to yield. But not caring to proceed, at that Juncture, to Extremities, and willing to gain Time, he readily hearkened to the Advice of his Council; which was, that new Envoys should be sent to *Rome* both by him and the Archbishop to argue the Point in Dispute in the Presence of the Pope. For this important Embassy the King chose *Gerard*, Archbishop elect of *Tork*, *Robert*, Bishop of *Chester*, and *Herbert*, Bishop of *Thetford*. By the Archbishop were sent Two Monks, *Baldwin* and *Alexander*, the one a Monk of *Bec* in *Normandy*, the other of *Canterbury*.

Council of
Rome.
Year of
Christ 1102.

While these Things passed in *England*, the Pope was wholly intent upon making his Party good against the Emperor and his Adherents. With that View he assembled a great Council at *Rome*, consisting of all the Bishops of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, *Sicily*, *Tuscany*, and a great many Bishops, or their Deputies, come from beyond the Mountains. They met in the *Lateran* about the latter End of *March*, and the Pope presiding in Person, the Decrees of the preceding Popes, especially of *Gregory VII.* were all confirmed, and on Maundy-Thursdaiy, being this Year the Third of *April*, the Sentence of Excommunication was, with great Solemnity, pronounced against the Emperor by the Pope himself in the Presence of an immense Multitude. This Sentence the Pope ordered to be published in all Churches, especially beyond the Mountains, that none might plead Ignorance, and thereupon communicate with the Person, who called himself Emperor, and by that Means partake of his Wickedness. In the same Council the Pope exacted the following Oath of all the Bishops; *I anathematize all Heresies, and chiefly that, which at present disturbs the Peace of the Church, teaching that no Regard is to be had to the Censures and Anathemas of the Church. I promise Obedience to Lord Paschal, Pontiff of the Apostolic See, and to his Successors, in the Presence of Christ and his Church.*

The Emperor
excommunicated.

‡ Ead. l. iii. c. 2.

* Idem, ibid.

affirming,

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affirming what the Holy Universal Church affirms, and condemning what She condemns^t. As Anathemas and Excommunications were, Year of
Christ 1102.
at this Time, thundered out on every trifling Occasion, Men began not only to pay no Kind of Regard to them, but to teach, that no Kind of Regard ought to be paid to them; and it was to suppress that Heresy, as they called it, that the present Oath was drawn up, and required of the Bishops of the Council.

As all, who received the Pall, were required, upon receiving it, *The Pope's
Letter to the
Archbishop of
Colocza.*
to take this Oath, and likewise the Oath, that was prescribed by *Gregory VII.* of which I have spoken above^u, the Archbishop of *Colocza* in *Hungary* refused to take either, when both were sent him, soon after this Council, together with the Pall, alledging that all Oaths were forbidden in the Gospel, that none were ever taken by the Apostles, and none prescribed or required by any of the General Councils. The Archbishop objected chiefly to the Clause, in the Oath prescribed by *Gregory*, obliging those, to whom Legates or Nuncios were sent, to bear their Charges, and *supply them with all Necessaries in coming and returning*. For they were, for the most *Rapacious-
ness of the
Apostolic Le-
gates.*
Part, Men, as the Writers of those Times witness, of an insatiable Avarice, and made it their Study not to promote the Service of God, but to plunder the Churches and enrich themselves, as if they had been sent only to accumulate Wealth and carry back with them to *Rome* the Treasures of *Crasus*^w. The Pope in his Answer to the Archbishop's Letter explains the Use of the Pall, extolls the Authority of the *Roman* Church, because she gives Law to all other Churches, and Authority to all Councils. As to the Oaths, he tells the Archbishop, that they are lawful when necessary; that it is not for his own private Interest he requires them, but to preserve the Unity of the Church, by uniting all the Members to the Head. He adds, that the *Saxons* and *Danes* are more distant from *Rome* than they (the *Hungarians*), and yet receive, with Honour, the Legates of the Apostolic See, defray the Expences of their Journeys, and cheerfully furnish them with whatever they want.

The following Year 1103 the Envoys of the King of *England* *The English
return from
Rome, but
disagree in
the Account
of their Ne-
gotiations.*
and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* returned from *Rome*; but very different were the Accounts they gave of their Negotiations there. The three Bishops positively affirmed, that the Pope had declared to

^t Abbas Usperg. in Chron. licrat. l. v. c. 16.

^u See p. 277.

^w Joan. Salisbur. Po-

Year of
Christ 1103

them that he would allow the King to grant Investitures, and would not excommunicate those, who received them from him, provided he gave him no other Occasion to complain of his Conduct. The Two Monks affirmed no less positively that the Pope had declared the quite contrary to them, and appealed to the Letters, which he had written by them to the Archbishop, and by the Bishop to the King. The Letters were produced, and by them was confirmed what the Monks had asserted. For the Pope in his Letter to the King promised him an inviolable Friendship, provided he renounced his Pretensions to Investitures, Laymen being forbidden by his holy Predecessors as well as by himself, and not without a particular Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to give them, and Ecclesiastics to receive them at their Hands. In his Letter to the Archbishop he encouraged him to persevere in his Opposition to all, who should attempt to encroach on the just Rights of the Church of Christ, tells him that, in the Council, which he had lately held in the *Lateran*, he had renewed and confirmed the Decrees of his Predecessors forbidding Lay Investitures, and that he would ever religiously adhere to their Ordinances, being sensible that the Desire of pleasing Laymen was the Source of all Simony, from which the Church, he said, never could be free, so long as the Laymen were allowed to dispose of Bishoprics, Abbies, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments. Such were the Pope's Letters to the King and the Archbishop. But the Envoys of the King maintained, in Answer to these Letters, that they had had several Audiences of the Pope, at which the Envoys of *Anselm* were not present, and that his Holiness had contradicted, by Word of Mouth, in the private Conferences they had with him, what he said in his Letters, but that he would commit nothing to Writing, lest other Princes, hearing of his Condescension and Indulgence to the King of *England*, should claim the same Favours, as due to them as well as to him. The Lords and the Bishops of the King's Council were divided upon these opposite Reports. Some were for standing to the Pope's Letters, and the Account given by the Archbishop's Envoys, and confirmed by those Letters; while others looked upon the Testimony of Three Bishops as an irrefragable Proof, in which they ought all to acquiesce. Most of the Lords as well as the Bishops were of this Opinion, and *Anselm*, not chusing to give the Bishops the Lye, nor shew to the World, that he placed more Confidence in his Monks than in them, proposed the sending of new Envoys to *Rome*, promising

missing that, if the King should, in the mean time, grant Investitures, he would neither look upon him, nor upon those, who received them, as excommunicated. But at the same time he declared, that he would not consecrate them. This Proposal was readily agreed to, and in the mean time the Controversy lay dormant*. Year of Christ 1103. Other Envoys sent to Rome.

Upon the Departure of the Envoys *Anselm* retired to *Canterbury*, and there continued till their Return, which happened this Year. They brought with them a Letter from the Pope to the Archbishop, wherein he declared what the Bishops had reported was notoriously false, "We take Jesus Christ, said he in his Letter, who searches the Reins and Hearts of Men, to witness, that no such criminal Thought, as we have been charged with by our Brethren, the Envoys of the King of *England*, has ever entered into our Mind, and God forbid we should ever utter with our Mouth what is not in our Heart. As to the Bishops, who have changed Truth into Falshood, we exclude them from the Grace of *St. Peter* and our Communion, till they repair the Injury they have done to the Roman Church." Whether the Envoys or the Pope spoke the Truth, I shall leave the Reader to judge. The Pope writes by them to the King.

As during the Interval between the Departure and Return of the last Envoys, *Anselm* refused to consecrate some Bishops, the King, who had nominated them, went in Person to *Canterbury*, whether he could by any Means get the better of his Obstinacy, and gain him over to his Cause. He represented to him how shameful and dishonourable it would be in him tamely to part with the undoubted Rights of his Crown, which his Predecessors had all enjoyed undisturbed. He even descended to Prayers and Entreaties, begging he would no longer oppose him, as he could not but know that he had Justice on his Side. But all was in vain, the Archbishop remained inflexible. The King therefore, no less determined to maintain, than he was to oppose his just Claim, resolved to deliver himself and his Kingdom, as soon as possible, from so dangerous and obstinate a Bigot. With that View, as he did not chuse to proceed to open Violence, he desired that *Anselm* would go himself to *Rome*, and try whether he could obtain of his Holiness what he had refused to others. *Anselm* understood the Meaning of this Proposal, and looking upon his being sent to *Rome*, at this Juncture, as an honour. The King tries in vain to gain Anselm. Sends him to Rome and William of Warlewast at the same time.

* Eadmer. *ibid.*

† Idem *ibid.*

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Christ 1103.

able Exile, desired the Affair might be respited till the Meeting of the Bishops and the Lords at Easter, that he might know, after hearing them, what Answer he should return. His Request was granted; but the Advice of the whole Assembly, not one excepted, concurring with the Desire of the King, the Archbishop consented, though much against his Will, to undertake that Journey. He embarked accordingly at *Dover* in the latter End of *April* of the present Year 1103, and having first visited the Monastery of *Bec* in *Normandy*, he pursued his Journey, by Land, to *Rome*. The Pope, when informed of his Arrival in that City, sent him Word, that to recover himself from the Fatigue of so long a Journey, he would have him to pass that and the next Day in Quiet in the Lodging, that was allotted to him near the Church of *St. Peter*. The Third Day *Anselm* was admitted to the Pope, and received by him with all possible Marks of Confidence and Esteem. As the King placed no Confidence in the Archbishop, and his sending him to *Rome* was only a Pretence to remove him out of the Way, he dispatched, at his Departure, *William Warlewast*, Bishop Elect of *Exeter*, with the Character of his Ambassador to the Pope, knowing that he would plead his Cause with more Zeal than the Archbishop, should he even undertake it. A Day being fixed by the Pope to hear *Anselm* and the Bishop, the latter harangued with great Energy and Eloquence in Favour of the King, urging the eminent Services, which the Kings of *England* had, in all Times, rendered to the Apostolic See, their having ever been distinguished, on that Account, by the *Roman* Pontiffs above all other Princes, the Advantages, which *Rome* had always reaped and continued to reap from their Generosity, but would certainly forfeit, and might never afterwards recover, if they disobliged the King. The Bishop represented at the same Time how dishonourable it would be for the King to give up the Rights of the Crown, which his Predecessors had all enjoyed undisputed, and transmitted, with the Crown, to him. This Speech made no small Impression upon all who were present. Some however rose up to answer it; but the Bishop stopped them short, saying aloud; with a determined Air, *Let either Side urge what they will, I would have all here present to know, that the King of England, my Master, will not suffer Investitures to be taken from him, were it even to cost him his Kingdom.* At these Words the Pope starting up, and fixing his Eyes upon the Bishop, addressed him thus with Anger and Resolution in his Countenance,

*William's
bold Speech to
the Pope.*

tenance, *if your King will not, as you say, part with Investitures, were it to cost him his Kingdom, I would have you to know, before God I say it, that Pope Paschal will not suffer him to keep them with Impunity, were it to cost him his Head.* These Words were, no doubt, put in the Mouth of the Holy Father, and the Wrath, or rather Rage, with which he uttered them, was put in his Heart by the Holy Ghost. However, he soon returned to himself, and at the pressing Instances of the *Romans*, no doubt, apprehending that this Quarrel might be attended with the Loss of the Wealth which their City drew from *England*, he allowed the King to retain some ancient Usages in his Kingdom, which, it seems, he had sued for. As to Investitures, he absolutely forbade them, and absolved the King from the Excommunication he had incurred by granting them; but would not absolve those, who had received them from him, till they had done Penance, and given Satisfaction for so enormous a Crime. It is observable, that *Anselm* spoke not a single Word at this Audience either for or against the King's Claim ².

Year of
Christ 1103.
The Pope's
resolute An-
swer.

Anselm left *Rome*, soon after this Conference, on his Return to *England*; and the Pope gave him, at his Departure, a Letter or Bull, dated the 16th of *November* 1103, confirming all the Privileges, that his Predecessors had granted to his See. The Bishop staid at *Rome* under Pretence that he had made a Vow to visit the Tomb of *St. Nicholas* at *Bari*, a Saint famous in those Days, and still famous in ours. But his true Motive was to try whether he could persuade the Pope to grant him in the Absence of *Anselm* what he had not been able to obtain while he was present. But he found that *Paschal* meant what he said, *that he would not for his Head part with Investitures*. When the Bishop took his Leave, the Pope charged him with a Letter for the King, wherein he begged, entreated, and conjured him, as he tendered the Welfare of his Soul, and his own Happiness in this Life and hereafter, not to claim, as his Right, what belonged to God alone, repeated what he had said in his former Letter, *viz.* that Christ alone is the Door, &c. and promised, if he renounced what he could not claim, in Conscience or in Justice, *viz.* Investitures, to take him, and his new born Son *William*, into the immediate Protection of *St. Peter* and the Apostolic See, and to look upon their Enemies as the Enemies of the *Roman Church* ². In the mean time *Anselm* pursuing his Journey to *England*, arrived at

The Pope
writes again
to the King.

² Eadmer. Novor. l. iii.

² Idem, in vit. Ansel.

Year of
Christ 1103.
Anselm for-
bidden to re-
turn to Eng-
land.

Lions a little before *Christmas*, and there *William Warlewast*, who had travelled with him from *Placentia*, where he overtook him, to that City, notified to him, agreeably to his private Instructions, the King's Resolution in the following Words; *The King has ordered me to let you know, that if you are resolved to behave towards him as your Predecessors are known to have behaved towards his, he will receive you willingly.* This was forbidding him, and so *Anselm* understood it, to return to *England*, unless he was resolved to submit to the King. He therefore staid at *Lions*, and was there entertained by Cardinal *Hugh*, the Archbishop, as if he had been Archbishop and Lord of the City^b: And there we shall leave him for the present, and relate what passed in the mean time in *France*.

Philip of
France ab-
solved from
the Excom-
munication.
Year of
Christ 1104.

King *Philip* had been excommunicated by *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lions*, in a Council held at *Autun* in 1094, for marrying *Bertrada*, while his own Wife and her Husband were still living; and this Sentence was confirmed by Pope *Urban* in the Council of *Clermont* in 1095. But he was absolved the following Year 1096 by the same Pope, upon his dismissing *Bertrada*, and promising to break off all Correspondence with her. However, he recalled her in 1099, and cohabited with her as he had done before; which drew upon him a Third Excommunication in 1100. Under that Sentence he continued, no less respected and obeyed by his Subjects, even by the Bishops and the Clergy, as if no such Sentence had been pronounced against him, till the Year 1104, when he applied to *Paschal* for Absolution. Upon his Application the Pope sent *Richard*, Bishop of *Albano*, to enquire, upon the Spot, whether the Repentance of the King, who had deceived his Predecessors, was sincere, empowering him, if it was, to absolve him, upon Condition that he promised upon Oath to have thenceforth no Kind of Intercourse with *Bertrada*. The Legate upon his Arrival in *France* assembled a Council at *Raugenci*, about Ten Miles from *Orleans*, at which were present most of the *Gallican* Bishops. At this Council the King appeared in Person, and applying to the Legate and the other Bishops for Absolution, declared that he was ready to swear upon the Holy Gospel, that he would from that time forward avoid all Commerce with *Bertrada*, and never see or converse with her alone. *Bertrada* too was present, and she offered to take the same Oath with respect to the King. But the Legate and the Bishops disagreeing, the Council broke up, and the Legate left

^b Eadmer Novor. l. iii.

the Place before the King was absolved. The Pope was no sooner acquainted with what had passed, than he wrote to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Reims*, *Sens*, and *Tours*, ordering them to meet at the Place the Legate should appoint, if he was still in *France*, and, if he had left that Kingdom, to follow, in every thing, the Directions of *Lambert*, Bishop of *Arras*, and, with his Advice and Approbation, absolve both the King and *Bertrada*. The Legate was gone, and in his Absence *Lambert* appointed a Council to meet at *Paris* on the 2d of *December*, in order to absolve the King, provided he took the Oath prescribed by the Pope. That Oath *Lambert* took care to send to him by *John*, Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Galo*, Bishop of *Paris*, that he might know before-hand what the Council would require of him. He read it, and expressing great Sorrow and Compunction for the Scandal he had given, declared he was willing to atone for his Crimes, and convince the whole World of his Sincerity by taking that Oath, and performing what Penance soever it should please the Church, the Pope, and the Council, to impose upon him. Not satisfied with this Declaration, he walked bare-footed to the Place of the Council, and there, laying his Hand upon the Gospels, pronounced the following Oath, addressed to *Lambert* and the other Bishops.

“ Hear, you *Lambert*, who art here the Representative of the Pope; “ hear all ye Archbishops and Bishops, who are here present, that I, “ *Philip* King of *France*, shall henceforth abstain from the carnal “ and criminal Commerce, which I have hitherto carried on with “ *Bertrada*, and sincerely renounce that Crime. I shall never co- “ habit with her, nor shall I ever converse with her, except in the “ Presence of unsuspected Witnesses. All this I promise to observe, “ without Fraud or Deceit, as is prescribed in the Pope’s Letters. “ So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of *Jesus Christ*.” The like Oath was taken by *Bertrada*; and the Sentence of Absolution, with respect to both, was then pronounced, with the Consent of the Bishops, by *Lambert*, in the Name of the Holy Pope *Paschal*. As Queen *Berta* died in 1094, and *Fulk*, Earl of *Anjou*, had married *Bertrada*, within the forbidden Degrees, without a Dispensation from the Pope, *Philip*, it seems, flattered himself that the Pope might, in Consideration of his Submission, be prevailed upon to declare her Marriage with *Fulk* null, and allow him to marry her. Thus some account for the King’s mean Behaviour on the present Occasion; nay,

Year of
Christ 1104.

Oath he took
on that Occa-
sion.

Year of
Christ 1104.

some are of Opinion, that though *Bertrada* was as nearly related to the King as she was to the Earl, the Pope dispensed with the King's marrying her^d. But of that Marriage no Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Writers.

The Arch-
bishop of
Treves de-
posed and
restored in a
Council at
Rome.

In the same Year 1104 *Paschal* held a Council at *Rome*: But all we know of that Assembly is, that *Bruno*, Archbishop of *Treves*, was deposed, and restored in it to his Dignity. He had been nominated to that See by the Emperor in 1102, and had received the Investiture from him. Two Years after, being desirous to visit the Tombs of the Apostles, he went to *Rome*, and arrived in that City while the Council was sitting. The Pope received him with all the Marks of Distinction that were due to the Metropolitan of the First Province of *Belgic Gaul*. But as he had been nominated by the Emperor, had received the Investiture at his Hands, and had besides consecrated Churches, and promoted Clerks before the Bull was sent him, which were all enormous Crimes at *Rome*, he was, with great Severity, reprimanded by the Pope, and deposed, with his own Consent, by the Bishops of the Council. To this Sentence *Bruno* readily submitted, delivering up to the Pope and the Council his Pastoral Staff and Ring, But the Pope, well pleased with his Humility and Submission, and only wanting the Archbishop to receive the Ensigns of his Dignity from him, restored them to him the Third Day, and at the same time gave him the Pall. However, that he might be made sensible of the Heinousness of his Crime in receiving the Badges of his sacred Dignity from the Hand of a Layman, he was ordered by the Pope and the Council to forbear, for the Space of Three Years, the Use of the Dalmatic, an Ornament worn by all Archbishops in the Celebration of Mass^e. This Penance the Archbishop is said to have punctually performed.

Council of
Rome,
Year of
Christ 1105.
The Arch-
bishop of
Milan cleared
from Simony.

The following Year the Pope held another Council in the *Lateran* Palace during *Lent*, at which were present most of the Bishops of *Italy*; and by all *Grosulanus*, Archbishop of *Milan*, was cleared from the Charge of Simony, brought against him by a Priest of that Church called *Liprand*, though the Priest had undergone, with great Solemnity, and quite unhurt, the Ordeal by Fire to prove him guilty. That *Liprand* had undergone that Trial was proved by numberless Eye-witnesses, but that the Pope and the Council did not think so convincing a Proof of his Guilt, as the Testimony of several Per-

^d Blondel Diatrib. de reg. Christ. paragraph 10. * Anonym. Auctor. Hist. Trevir. apud Dacher. Spic. tom. xii.

sons, witnessing the Sanctity of his Life, was of his Innocence^d. By the same Council the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out against the Count of *Meulan* and his Accomplices, said to have persuaded the King of *England* not to part with Investitures, which they called an enormous Crime. All Bishops were likewise excommunicated who had received Investitures from the King's Hand. But the Sentence against the King himself was delayed till the Arrival of the Envoys, whom he had dispatched to *Rome*, and the Pope expected daily. This the Pope himself notified by a Letter to *Anselm*, who was still at *Lions*^e.

Year of
Christ 1105.

In the mean time *Anselm*, tired with the Delays and slow Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* in his Affair, and no longer expecting any Assistance or Relief from thence, left *Lions* and retired to a Place that belonged to the Monastery of *Cluny*. Being informed soon after his Arrival there, that *Adela*, Countess of *Blois* and Sister to the King of *England*, lay indisposed in the Castle of *Blois*, he went thither to pay her a Visit. The Countess, who was quite recovered of her late Illness, received him with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, and being not a little surprised to see him, as she had not heard of his leaving *Lions*, she enquired, as was natural, into the Motives of his Journey. *Anselm* answered without Hesitation, that he was come to excommunicate the King of *England* for the Injury he had done to God and to him. He had no such Commission from the Pope, nor durst he take such a Step without it. But he knew that the Fear of an Excommunication, at the present Juncture, would make the King hearken to an Accommodation, and agree to it almost upon any Terms. And so it happened. For the King, who was come over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army to subdue that Country, apprehending that the Excommunication might, at so critical a Juncture, not only defeat his Design, but be attended with more fatal Consequences, no sooner heard from his Sister, of *Anselm's* Intention, than he sent for him, and an Agreement was concluded between them upon the following Terms; That the King should give up his Right to Investitures, and *Anselm* should be allowed to return to *England*, but should not excommunicate those, who had received the Investiture from the King, nor exclude them from his Communion. Against this last Article *Anselm* urged the Decrees of the late Popes, forbidding all Communion with such as

Agreement
between the
King of
England and
Anselm.

The King
gives up In-
vestitures.

^d Law. Tulp. c. xi.

^e Paschal ep. xco, et Eadmer. Novor. l. iv.

Year of
Christ 1105.

had received Investitures from Laymen. It was therefore agreed that Envoys should be sent on the Part of both to consult the Pope with respect to that Point, and to have their Agreement confirmed by him. On this Occasion the King restored to *Anselm* the Temporalities of his See, which he had seized at his Departure from *England*. But he nevertheless declined returning till the Sentiments of the Pope were known concerning the Article in Question^f. This Agreement was not executed till Two Years after, the King being wholly intent upon the Conquest of *Normandy*.

Henry, the
Emperor's
younger Son,
rebels against
his Father.

In the mean time the Emperor, though excommunicated and anathematized by Four Popes successively, continued still to assert his Right to that invaluable Prerogative, which the King of *England* so meanly gave up through Fear of an Excommunication. But what Wickedness, what Treachery or Treason will not a Pope countenance, if not advise and command, when any-ways conducive to the aggrandizing of his See! The Emperor had Two Sons, *Conrad* and *Henry*. *Conrad*, the elder of the Two, was seduced by the Partizans of *Gregory VII.* and not without his Approbation, as has been shewn, to rebel against his Father and his Sovereign. But he dying in 1102, the Party began to tamper with the younger Son *Henry*. He had served his Father with the greatest Fidelity, and gained a complete Victory over the Countess *Mathilda* in 1080, and had, upon the Rebellion of his elder Brother, been taken by the Emperor for his Partner in the Empire. But the ambitious Youth, not satisfied with a Share of the Power, readily gave ear to the wicked Suggestions of Three great Lords, zealous Partizans of the Pope, *Dexbold* Marquis, *Berenger* Count, and *Otto* or *Otho*, a Nobleman of great Authority, and nearly related to him on his Mother's Side. These Three, abusing the Confidence the young Prince, at this time in the 22d or 23d Year of his Age, placed in them, laid hold of every Opportunity to stir him up against his Father as an Enemy to the Church. The Pope too, says *Herimannus*, a Writer of those Days, wrote artful Letters to him, encouraging him to rescue the Church and the Apostolic See from the Servitude they groaned under, and restore Peace and Tranquillity to the Empire. This was encouraging him to take up Arms against his Father, and he understanding it so accordingly, unexpectedly withdrew from Court with his Three

^f Idem ibid.

Paschal II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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Christ 1105.

above-mentioned Counsellors, and repaired to *Bavaria*, where the Pope had a strong Party. He there publicly abjured the Heresy proscribed by the Pope, that is, the Right to give Investitures, and declared himself an obedient Son of the Apostolic See. This Declaration drew Crowds of People to him from all Parts, especially from *Suabia*, *Saxony*, and *Franconia*; and he saw himself in a very short time at the Head of an Army capable of facing his Father's in the Field. To strengthen his Party still more, and seduce such of the Emperor's Subjects as still adhered to him, he caused Manifestos to be dispersed all over *Germany*, protesting therein, that it was not the Desire of reigning that had induced him to take up Arms against his Father, that he had nothing in his View but to bring about a Reconciliation between the Church and the Empire, and was therefore ready to obey the Emperor, as the meanest of his Subjects, provided he submitted to St. *Peter* and his Successors, and got himself absolved from the Censures he had incurred by his Obstinacy and Disobedience. We shall see in the Sequel, this Prince, more disobedient to the Apostolic See than his Father, pursuing the very same Measures, and with more Vigour and better Success than he had ever done.

Henry over-ran, in a very short time, all *Saxony*, and having made himself Master of all the Strong-holds in that Country, he kept his *Easter* at *Quintilenburg*, and was there absolved by *Rothard*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Gebehard*, Bishop of *Constance*, the Pope's Legate in *Germany*, from the Censures he had incurred by obeying his Father, and adhering to him against St. *Peter* and his Church. Was not this declaring the Duty a Son owes to his Father, and Subject to his Sovereign, criminal and worthy of Excommunication, where either interferes with the Duty and Obedience, that the Pope claims as due to him? Young *Henry*, who wanted neither Parts, nor Cunning, nor Address, to engage the Pope and all his Party still more in his Interest, appointed a Council to meet at a Royal Villa in *Thuringia*, called *Northusum*, in order to redress several Abuses, that prevailed in the *German* Churches, and were connived at by his Father. The Council met in the Week before *Whitsunday*, and the Decrees of former Councils against Simony, and the Marriage of the Clergy, were all confirmed by it, and several other Regulations were made relating to the Discipline of the Churches in those Parts. *Henry* would not, out of an affected Humility, assist at this Council, till he

Over-runs
all Saxony.

Assembles a
Council at
Northusum.

Year of
Christ 1105.

was pressed to it by the Bishops, and he then made the same Protestations as he had done in his Manifestos, calling God to witness, that it was not to deprive his Father of the Imperial Crown, but only to oblige him to submit to the Successor of St. *Peter*, that he had taken up Arms against him. In this Council the Bishops of *Hildesheim*, *Paderborn*, and *Halberstat*, throwing themselves at the Feet of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, their Metropolitan, owned their Fault in having adhered to the Emperor, and received Investiture from him; but their Cause was referred to the Pope.

His artful
Conduct.

Henry, upon the breaking up of this Council, repaired to *Mersburg*, and there caused *Henry*, who had long before been appointed Archbishop of *Magdeburgh*, to be ordained. He had refused, it seems, to receive Investiture from the Emperor, and the Bishops dared not consecrate him till he had submitted to that Ceremony. Thus did *Henry*, to attain his Ends, tacitly give up his Right to Investitures. But when he found himself in the quiet Possession of the Imperial Crown, he obliged the Pope to give it up in his

Reduces several
Places.

Turn. From *Mersburg* *Henry* marched at the Head of his Army to *Mentz*, with a Design to reinstate in that See *Rothard*, who had been driven from it by the Emperor for adhering to the Pope. Some Writers tell us, that *Henry* entered the City without Opposition, and restored the Bishop after an Eight Years Exile. But others say, that the young Prince, finding his Father had shut himself up in the City with a numerous Garrison, did not think it advisable to lay siege to it. Be that as it will, he made himself Master of several other Places, and among the rest of *Nuremberg*, after a Siege of Two Months obliging the Inhabitants every where to submit to the Pope, that is,

The Rebels
defeated and
put to Flight
by the Emperor.

to receive the Decrees. The Emperor, having assembled his Forces, took the Field, and engaging the Rebels in the Neighbourhood of *Ratisbon*, put them to Flight, pursued them with great Slaughter, and recovered most of the Places they had taken, restoring everywhere the Bishops, whom they had driven out, and driving out those, whom they had placed in their room. The young Prince is said to have distinguished himself in that Action above all the rest; but having nevertheless the good Luck to survive it, he retired to *Saxony*, recruited his Army there, and hearing that his Father was encamped on the Banks of the *Regen*, he came and encamped on the opposite Side of that River. It was not his Design to venture a Second Engagement, but to try whether he could not compass by Treachery, what

he

he despaired of being able to obtain by dint of Arms. And he succeeded therein beyond his Expectation. The Emissaries he sent into his Father's Camp, as the two Armies were only separated by the River, gained over, in a very short Time, most of the chief Commanders; insomuch that the Emperor, finding himself forsaken by them as well as their Vassals, and left almost alone, was forced to save himself by Flight from falling into the Hands of his Son. Young Henry, seeing himself now Master of the Field, marched strait to Spire, and there seized on all his Father's Treasures.

Year of
Christ 1105.
Henry gain-
over most of
the Comman-
ders in his
Father's Ar-
my, and
seizes on all
his Treasures.

The Emperor finding himself thus abandoned even by those, whom he looked upon as his best Friends, resolved to attempt a Reconciliation with the Pope, as his Disagreement with him served his Son and the other Rebels with a Pretence to deprive him of his Crown. He wrote accordingly to *Paschal*, declaring in his Letter, that he was ready to submit to his Holiness so far as was consistent with his Dignity, and to pay the same Obedience to him, that had been paid by his Predecessors in the Empire to his in the Apostolic See. In that Letter he taxes those, who had encouraged, or who any-ways countenanced the unnatural Rebellion of his Son, with Treachery, Perjury, and an utter Contempt of all Laws human and divine; assures the Pope, that he has nothing so much at Heart as to establish a lasting Peace between the Church and the Empire, and by that Means prevent the unspeakable Calamities, that threatened both; desires his Holiness to let him know whether he is ready to concur with him in so meritorious a Work, and solemnly declares, in the Close of his Letter, that nothing shall be wanting on his Side, that can be reasonably required of him, to attain so desirable an End as the Unity of the Church, and an uninterrupted Harmony among all its Members under the same Head.

The Emperor
attempts a
Reconciliati-
on with the
Pope.

What Answer the Pope returned to the Emperor's Letter we know not, nor whether he returned any. But the Princes of the Empire, foreseeing the Evils that would inevitably attend a War between the Father and the Son, agreed to meet at *Mentz*, and attempt a Reconciliation between them. They met accordingly at the Place appointed on Christmas-Day; and it was one of the most numerous Diets that had ever been seen in *Germany*, all the *German* Lords being present, except the Grand Duke of *Saxony*, as he is called, who could not attend on Account of his great Age. The Emperor came in Person to a Place in that Neighbourhood with a

A numerous
Diet meets at
Mentz.

Year of
Christ 1106.

The Emperor
betrayed,
seized, and
imprisoned,
by his Son.

Design to lay before the Lords of the Empire the cruel Treatment he had met with from his Son, and leave them to determine whether the Father should submit to the Son, or the Son to the Father. But the Prince, apprehending that his Presence, and the mean Condition to which he was reduced, might raise Compassion in many, and prejudice them in his Favour, resolved to prevent his appearing at the Diet. With that View he went privately to the Place where the Emperor had taken up his Abode, and being admitted to him, threw himself at his Feet, and begging Pardon, with all the seeming Marks of a sincere Grief, for his past Conduct, promised to serve him thenceforth with all the Fidelity that was due from a Subject to his Sovereign, and all the Duty, Obedience, and Submission, that was owing from a Son to his Father. The Emperor readily forgave him, and embracing him with many Tears, only told him, that were a Father ever so wicked, Heaven would never employ a Son to call him to an Account for his Wickedness, or to punish it. They then set out together for *Mentz*, the Prince pretending to have come on Purpose to attend his Father to the Diet. They had gone but a little Way, when they were met by Messengers, upon Messengers, pretending, as had been agreed before-hand between them and young *Henry*, to have been sent by the Emperor's Friends at *Mentz*, to give him Notice of the Arrival of many Lords from *Saxony* and *Suabia* his avowed Enemies, and divert him, as he tendered his Life and Liberty, from venturing himself among them. This raised some Jealousy in the Emperor; but the Son renewing, in the most awful Manner, the Protections he had made of filial Duty and Obedience, and declaring that he was ready even to lay down his own Life for his, he acquiesced, and placing an entire Confidence in the Son, retired by his Advice to the strong Castle of *Binghen*, at a small Distance from *Mentz*, as a Place, where he might bid Defiance to all his Enemies. But no sooner did he enter the Castle than the Gate was shut, and all his Attendants excluded. The perfidious Son, having thus by the blackest Treachery got him into his Power, caused him to be closely confined, and placing those about him, whom he knew to be his most bitter Enemies, would allow none of his own Friends or Servants to come near him. When he had been thus kept some Days, insulted by his Enemies, and ready to perish with Hunger and with Thirst, for he was scarce allowed the necessary Food to support Nature, a German Prince, named *Wigbert*, came from his Son,

Son, and entering the Prison told him abruptly, that he must forthwith deliver up all the Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity, for such was the Will of the Princes assembled at *Mentz*, and he could no otherwise save his Life but by complying with it. He was now in their Power, and thought it advisable to yield. But the Son, not satisfied with his thus divesting himself, as it were in a private Manner, of the Imperial Dignity, repaired with the Lords of his Party and the Bishops of *Constance* and *Albano*, the Pope's Legates, from *Mentz* to *Ingelheim*, and having caused his Father to be brought thither under a strong Guard, he obliged him to deliver the Regalia to him, in the Presence of all, with his own Hand. The Emperor then asked, whether they designed to take his Life away as well as his Dignity. At these Words, One of the Legates, rising up, *You have*, said he, *justly forfeited your Dignity by rebelling against the Apostolic See, and you shall no otherwise escape with your Life but by owning, that you have persecuted Hildebrand unjustly, that you have unjustly supported Guibert, and have raised and carried on a most unjust Persecution against the Apostolic See and the whole Church.* The Emperor begged that he might be allowed to plead his Cause in the Presence of his Friends as well as his Enemies, but was answered by the Legate, that the Affair must be finally determined upon the Spot, and if he did not own himself guilty, and unworthy of the Empire, he might be made to atone for his Obstinacy with his Life. The Emperor entreated the Legates to absolve him, at least, from the Excommunication, but was told by them, that with respect to his Absolution, they had no Instructions from the Pope, and he might, if he pleased, go to *Rome* for it. The Father being thus deposed in this Assembly, the perfidious and Rebel Son was acknowledged, by all who composed it, for sole King of *Germany*, and consecrated, as such, by the Pope's Legates. He immediately dispatched Six Bishops, and some of the great Lords of the Empire, to acquaint the Pope with the Result of the Diet, with the Deposition of his Father, and his own Promotion to the Crown in his room; and his Holiness approved and confirmed the one and the other in the Name of *St. Peter*; which was approving and ratifying one of the most shocking Instances of Treachery, Perfidy, Treason, and Rebellion, that occurs in History.

Obliged to
deliver up to
him the En-
signs of the
Imperial
Dignity.

Haughty Be-
haviour of
the Pope's
Legates.

The Pope ap-
proves the
Deposition of
the Father,
and Promo-
tion of the
Son.

Such is the Account, which the Emperor himself gave of his Deposition and the Promotion of his Son, in a Letter, which he wrote

Year of
Christ 1106.

Account of
the Deposition
of the Em-
peror, as by
the Abbot of
Uspurg.

this Year to the King of *France*^b, and it is entirely agreeable to what we read in the anonymous Writer of his Life, who lived at this Time, and seems to have been an Eye-witness to what he writes. But the Abbot of *Uspurg*, supposed by *Baronius* to have likewise writ at this Time, though nothing is more certain than that he was not yet born, taking no Notice of the Emperor's Imprisonment in the Castle of *Binghen*, says, that the Lords of the Diet, hearing that he was coming to plead his Cause in Person, and apprehending, as he had a strong Party at *Mentz*, his Presence might occasion great Disturbances in that City, went all in a Body to meet him at *Ingelheim*, and there deposed him with one Consent. The Abbot adds, that when he delivered the Regalia to his Son, he wished him a prosperous Reign, and warmly recommended him to the Princes of the Empire, that throwing himself at the Feet of the Bishop of *Albano*, the Pope's Legate, as soon as he had laid down the Ensigns of his Dignity, begged and conjured him to take off the Excommunication, and restore him to the Communion of the Church; that the Laity, touched with Compassion, all interceded for him, but that the Legate, unaffected with the Prayers and Entreaties of so great a Prince prostrate at his Feet in the utmost Distress, still refused him the so much wished and so humbly sued for Absolution, referring him to the Pope. Strange! that what melted the Emperor's Enemies among the Laity into Mercy, should have made no Impression upon his Enemies among the Clergy; for that the Abbot seems to insinuate, saying that the *Laity were touched with Compassion*. Upon the breaking up of the Diet, *Henry* retired, says the same Writer, to lead a private Life at the Place, which his Son had assigned him for his Abode. Thus did this great Prince's Quarrel with the Popes, and his maintaining the undoubted Rights of his Crown against their Tyranny and Encroachments, cost him his Kingdom, and it would have cost him his Life too, had he not found more Compassion in the Laity than in the Priesthood.

The Emperor
escapes from
the Place of
Confinement,
and retires to
Liege.

He had not been long at the Place of his Confinement, when he was privately informed, by some of his Friends, that his Son, not satisfied with depriving him of the Empire, was resolved to deprive him of his Life, or at least to keep him closely confined so long as he lived. That Intelligence he received, as is supposed, from *Henry*

^b Apud Baron. ad ann. 1106.

of *Limburg*, Duke of *Lower Lorraine*; for having made his Escape undiscovered, as soon as he received it, he took Refuge in that Prince's Territories, and was entertained by him as his lawful Lord and Sovereign. As most of the Cities in those Parts declared for him, and among the rest the City of *Liege* with its Bishop *Obert*, he chose that City for the Place of his Residence, and wrote from thence to his Son, to the King of *France*, and to the Princes, Archbishops, and Bishops of *Germany*. In his Letter to his Son he reproaches him, but without the least Bitterness, with treating him, his Sovereign and his Father, who had always loved him with the greatest Tenderness, as the worst of his Enemies; declares that he is ready to pay all the Respect, Obedience, and Submission to the Apostolic See, that can be reasonably required of him, and therefore that his Disobedience to St. *Peter* and his Vicar, is only made Use of by his Enemies as a Cover to conceal their wicked Designs from the less discerning; conjures him by his Allegiance, and the Duty he owes to him as his Prince and his Father, to dismiss the evil Counsellors about him, and follow the Advice of One, whose Interest, Welfare, and Glory are linked inseparably with his, and closes his Letter with putting him in mind of the strict Account he must one Day give, perhaps sooner than he expects, of all his Actions at a Tribunal, that rewards and punishes every Man according to his Deserts. The Direction of this Letter was, *Henry Emperor of the Romans to his Son Henry*. In his Letter to *Philip of France*, whom he styles King of the *Celtæ*, he gives the above Account of his Sufferings, and of the cruel Treatment he had met with from his Son, and implores his Assistance, not for his own Sake only, but for that of all Princes as well as his own, since Treason committed against him was committed against them all, and ought to be resented by each of them as committed against himself. In his Letter to the Bishops and Princes of *Germany* he protests that he wishes for nothing so much as to see that perfect Harmony restored, which once subsisted between the Church and the Empire; that to put an End to the present Troubles he is ready to give what Satisfaction soever the Pope shall require, and they shall think it consistent with the Dignity of the Head of the Empire to grant; and that with respect to the Dispute between him and the Apostolic See, which alone has occasioned the Troubles they complained of, he is willing to acquiesce in the Judgment and Decision of *Hugh*, the holy Abbot of *Cluny*, his ghostly Father, and of other.

Year of
Christ 1106.

His Letter
from thence to
his Son.

His Letter to
the King of
France;

and to the
Bishops and
Princes of
Germany.

Year of
Christ 1106.

Answer of
the Lords of
the Prince's
Party to the
Emperor's
Letter.

Other religious Persons, who free, like him, from all sinister and ambitious Views, have only the public Welfare at Heart.

To this Letter the Lords of the Prince's Party returned a most insulting and abusive Answer, charging the Emperor with Sacrilege, Perjury, Rapines, Conflagrations, and even with Apostacy from the Catholic Faith; tax him with applying to the *French*, to the *English*, and the *Danes*, in order to engage them in his Quarrel, and thus complete the Ruin of the Empire; but nevertheless declare, that, to leave no Room for Complaints, they are not averse to the assembling of another Diet, and allowing him to plead his Cause in Person, if he chose it, before the Lords and Bishops of the Empire. In the mean time the Son laid siege to the City of *Cologne*, that had declared for the Emperor, with a Design to march, as soon as he had reduced it, against the People and City of *Liege* for affording his Father an Asylum. But the Garrison and Inhabitants of *Cologne* repulsed the Aggressors in their repeated Attacks with so much Bravery, for Two whole Months, that the Prince was upon the Point of raising the Siege, when he received the News of his Father's

The Emperor
dies, and his
Body dug up
after his
Death.

Death. He died at *Liege* on the Seventh of *August* of the present Year 1106, in the Fifty-fifth Year of his Age, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp by the Bishop and the Clergy of *Liege*. But the Partizans of the Pope, carrying their Revenge even beyond the Grave, caused the Body, which the Bishop had buried in consecrated Ground, to be dug up as that of an excommunicated Person, unworthy of a Place there. It was dug up accordingly, and, by an Order from the Son, sent in a Stone Coffin to *Spire*, where it remained Five Years without the Church. Thus was this great Prince, *Henry*, the Fourth Emperor of that Name, in Defiance of all Laws human and divine, persecuted to his Grave, and beyond it, by his own Subjects and his own Children, with the Approbation, if not at the Instigation, of Four Popes successively, for not yielding up to them a Prerogative, that his Predecessors had all enjoyed as their undoubted Right, and no Pope, how daring soever and ambitious, had presumed to claim till the Time of that Incendiary *Gregory VII*. Great were the Virtues of that unhappy Prince, and great were his Vices; but he is better known by his Misfortunes than either by his Virtues or his Vices. The Pope, imitating the Zeal of those, who had caused the Empe-

* Usperg. ad ann. 1106.

Paschal II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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ror's Body to be taken out of the Grave, caused the Body of the Antipope *Guibert*, dead Six Years before, to be dug up and thrown into the River, and in the same Manner were treated by his Holiness's Partizans the Bodies of all the Bishops, who had received Investitures from the Emperor's Hand ^d.

Year of
Christ 1106.

The Pope no sooner heard of the Death of the Emperor than he set out for *Germany*, being invited thither by the Ambassadors of the new King, promising, in their Master's Name, an entire Submission and Obedience to the Apostolic See, and begging his Holiness to come and receive, in Person, the Homage, which all in those Parts were ready to pay him. On his Arrival at *Florence* he was informed, that the Bishop of the Place maintained that the Antichrist was born, and the End of the World was at Hand. The Pope was desirous to know, upon what the Bishop grounded his Opinion, and therefore, stopping a few Days at *Florence*, he assembled the neighbouring Bishops, and held a Council there. But the Novelty of the Subject drew such Crowds to the Place where the Bishops were assembled, and the Noise was so great, that the Question could not be debated, and the Council broke up. However the Pope had a private Conference with the Bishop, and finding that he only wanted to make himself remarkable by holding and preaching that Opinion, he enjoined him perpetual Silence concerning it ^e.

Council of
Florence.

From *Florence* the Pope pursued his Journey, and, arriving at *Guaftalla* on the *Po*, he held another Council there on the Twenty-second of *October*. As most of the Bishops and the Clergy in *Lombardy* had adhered to the late Emperor, and had been ordained by Bishops, whom he had nominated or invested, it was decreed by this Council, that all thus nominated and ordained should keep their respective Stations, and exercise the Functions of their Office, provided they were neither Usurpers, nor guilty of Simony, nor of any other Crime. Another Decree was issued, importing, that the Heresies, which had lately prevailed, being now extinct, together with their Author, meaning the Emperor, it was fit that the Church should recover her ancient Liberty, and the Decrees, restoring her to it, should be renewed, confirmed, and enforced. After this Preamble, they forbade Laymen, upon Pain of Excommunication, to give Investitures, and Clergymen to receive any at their Hands, on Pain of forfeiting the

Council of
Guaftalla.

^d Ufperg. ad ann. 1105.

^e Pandulph. *San. vit. Pasch.*

Year of
Christ 1106.

Lombardy
reunited to
the Apostolic
See.

The King of
Germany re-
solves to main-
tain his Right
to Investi-
tures.

Benefices and Dignities, which they had thus received. By the same Council it was decreed, that the whole Province of *Emilia*, containing the Cities of *Placentia*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Modena*, and *Bologna*, should be no longer subject to the See of *Ravenna*, which had, for the Space of near a Hundred Years, set up against the *Roman*, and usurped its Lands as well as its Jurisdiction. At this Council were present the Embassadors sent by *Henry*, King of *Germany*, to assure the Pope anew of his sincere Attachment to the Apostolic See, and his earnest Desire of maintaining a perfect Harmony between the Church and the Empire ^f. From *Guaftalla* the Pope repaired to *Parma*, at the Request of the Inhabitants, and there ordained *Bernard* Bishop of that City, declared his See immediately subject to the *Roman*, and appointed him his Legate over all *Lombardy*. Thus was all *Lombardy* reunited to the Apostolic See, from which the whole Country, except the Places held by the Countess *Mathilda*, had been separated ever since the Year 1080, when they all declared for the Antipope *Guibert* chosen that Year at *Brixen* ^g.

The King and the *German* Lords, concluding that the Pope intended to keep his Christmas in *Germany*, met at *Metz*, in order to receive his Holiness and celebrate that Festival with him there. But *Paschal*, instead of continuing his Journey to *Germany*, took unexpectedly the Road to *France*, pretending that new Difficulties were started there, concerning Investitures, which he wanted to remove before he went to *Germany*. But this was a mere Pretence; for he had laid aside all Thoughts of going to *Germany*, and putting himself in the Power of the young King, who, as he was informed, seemed determined to maintain his Right to Investitures, notwithstanding all his Protestations of Obedience, and Subjection to the Vicar of *St. Peter* and his See. He found himself firmly established on the Throne by the Death of his Father, and thinking he no longer wanted the Assistance of the Pope, had resolved to assert, to the utmost of his Power, that very Right, the asserting of which by his Father had served him for a Pretence to take up Arms against him, and drive him from the Throne ^h. This Intelligence the Pope received from Persons of known Zeal for the Apostolic See, and therefore, saying with a deep Sigh when he received it, *the Door into Germany is not yet open to us*, he altered his Design, and

^f Usperg. ad ann. 1106. Domnizo in vit. Mathild.

^g Suger. in vit. Ludovic. apud Duchesn. t. iv. p. 288, et Usperg.

^h Domnizo, ibid.

taking

taking the Road to *France*, arrived at *Cluny* a little before Christ-
 mas, which he kept in that Monastery. From *Cluny* he set out for
 St. *Dennis*, to meet there *Philip*, King of *France*, and his Son
Lewis, the Sixth of that Name. In his Way he visited a great
 many Places at the Invitation of the Inhabitants, consecrating
 Churches and Monasteries, and celebrating Mass with the same
 Pomp, Ceremonies, and Solemnity, as he did at *Rome*. On the
 Fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, which, in the present Year 1107, fell on
 the Twenty-fourth of *March*, he was at *Tours*, and from thence
 repaired to St. *Dennis* attended by a great Number of Bishops, and
 almost all the Nobility of *France*. At St. *Dennis* he had an Inter-
 view with the Two Kings, who, paying the same Respect to him
 as to St. *Peter* himself, fell on their Knees before him. But the
 Pope, raising them up with his Hand, expressed great Satisfaction at
 the Reception he had every-where met with in their Dominions,
 commended them for treading in the Footsteps of their Ancestors,
 the Defenders and Protectors of the Apostolic See, and then enter-
 ing upon the Motives of his Journey, told them that he was come to
 implore their Protection against the Enemies of the *Church*, particu-
 larly against *Henry*, King of *Germany*, who, notwithstanding the
 Obligations he owed to the *Roman* See, threatend the Church with
 the same Calamities that it had suffered under his Father. The Two
 Kings assured the Pope that he should find them no less ready to assist
 him, when called upon, than his Predecessors had found the most
 zealous among theirs to assist them.

The Pope
 goes to
 France.
 Year of
 Christ 1107.

In the mean time *Henry*, hearing of the Pope's Journey into
France, and not doubting but he had undertaken it to engage the
 Assistance of those Princes, in Case of a Rupture between him and
 the Apostolic See, convened a Diet at *Mentz*, consisting of all the
 Lords and Bishops of his Kingdom; and by all the investing of Bi-
 shops and Abbots was declared a Right inherent in the Crown, and
 it was resolved, that a solemn Embassy should be sent to the Pope, to
 put an End, if possible, in an amicable Manner, to that Dispute.
 For this Embassy were chosen the Archbishop of *Treves*, the Bishops
 of *Halberstad* and *Munster*, *Albert* Great Chancellor of the Em-
 pire, and many other Persons of the first Rank and Distinction.
 They met the Pope at *Chalons* on the *Marne*, and in the Audience
 they had, the Bishop of *Treves*, who spoke for the rest, after wish-
 ing his Holiness all Prosperity in the King's Name, and offering him

Solemn Em-
 bassy from
 the King of
 Germany to
 the Pope.

Year of
Christ 1107.

his Service, so far as was consistent with the Rights of his Crown, he declared, that ever since the Time of *Gregory the Great* the Election of a Bishop was notified to the Emperor before it was made public; that if he confirmed it, it was then published, the Elect was ordained, and after Ordination applied to the Emperor, and was by him invested with the Crosier and the Ring, in the Temporalities of his See, paying Homage for them, and taking the usual Oath of Allegiance; that it was but reasonable he should hold upon these, and no other Terms, Demesnes, Cities, Castles, &c. that were given by the Emperors, and depended upon the Empire, and that the King, his Master, was disposed to render all the Respect, Obedience, and Submission, that was due to his Holiness, provided his Holiness was, in his Turn, disposed to render unto *Cæsar* what was *Cæsar's*. The Bishop of *Placentia* answered the Archbishop in the Pope's Name, that the Church, redeemed by the Blood of Christ, and set at Liberty, ought not to be enslaved anew; that she would be the Prince's Slave, if she could not chuse her own Ministers without his Consent; that the Staff and Ring belonged to the Altar, and consequently could not be disposed of by Laymen; and that it was highly unbecoming, that Hands, consecrated by the Body and Blood of Christ, should receive the Ensigns of their Dignity and Power from Hands imbrued in Blood shed by the Sword. The Bishop was going on, when his Embassadors, interrupting him, said aloud, *This is not the Place where we are to decide the Dispute; the Sword must decide it at Rome*. With these Menaces they left the Assembly abruptly, and returned to their Lodgings. The Pope sent some of the Bishops, who attended him, to confer with the Chancellor *Albert*, in whom he knew the King reposed an entire Confidence. But they found him no less determined than the rest to maintain the King's Right to Investitures, which, he said, all the other Emperors and Kings of *Germany* had enjoyed, and the present King was determined never to give up. The Embassadors set out the next Day on their Return to *Germany*: and the Pope leaving *Chalons*, repaired first to *Chartres*, where he kept his Easter with *Ivo*, the celebrated Bishop of that City, and from thence to *Troyes*, to preside at a Council, which he had appointed to meet there¹.

The King
maintains his
Right to In-
vestitures.

Lay Investitures con-
demned in a
Council at
Troyes.

The Council met about the End of *May*, consisted of most of the Bishops of *France*, *Burgundy*, and the neighbouring Countries; and

¹ Suger. ubi supra. Usperg. Orderic. l. ii. p. 820.

the Pope, to shew that he was resolved, notwithstanding the Menaces of the *Germans*, to maintain his pretended Right to Investitures, caused all the Decrees, relating thereunto, to be confirmed by the Assembly. This the King of *Germany* foresaw, and therefore sent Embassadors to declare to the Pope and the Council, in his Name, that ever since the Time of Pope *Gregory the Great*, his Predecessors had invested Bishops with the Staff and the Ring; that this Prerogative had been confirmed by *Charlemagne*, and in him to all his Successors, by Pope *Hadrian I.* and that he would not suffer his Right to it to be determined by the Subjects of another Prince. The Pope would not allow the Decree of his Predecessor *Hadrian* to be genuine, but nevertheless granted the King the Delay of a whole Year, that he might, when most convenient during that Time, go to *Rome*, and there plead his Cause, in Person, before a general Council, which should be convened to hear his Reasons and do him Justice. The King acquiesced; and we hear no more of this Dispute till the Year 1110, when we shall have Occasion to resume the same Subject.

The Pope found the King of *England* more pliant than the late Emperor, or the present King of *Germany*. *Henry* had declared, by his Embassador at *Rome*, as has been related above, that he would not for his Kingdom, part with his Right to Investitures. He nevertheless parted, or rather promised to part with that Prerogative, upon the Terms I have spoken above, *viz.* that *Anselm* should not excommunicate those who had received Investitures from him nor exclude them from his Communion. As *Anselm* would not agree to these Terms without consulting the Pope, Envoys were sent in 1105 both by him and the King, for that Purpose, to *Rome*. The Pope, overjoyed to hear that the King was disposed to renounce Investitures upon any Terms whatever, readily agreed to those he demanded, and the Envoys returned in 1106 with the following Agreement, *viz.* That Bishops and Abbots might be consecrated, notwithstanding their doing Homage to the King upon their Election; that *Anselm* should communicate with such of them, as had, till the Time of the present Agreement, received Investiture from the King; and that thenceforth the King should renounce all Right to Investitures. As the Clergy were forbidden by the Decrees of *Gregory* and *Urban* to do Homage to Princes, *Paschal* tells *Anselm* in a Letter, which he wrote on this Occasion, that, out of the great Regard he had for

Year of
Christ 1107.

Agreement
between the
King of Eng-
land and An-
selm concern-
ing Investi-
tures.

Year of
Christ 1107.

the King of *England*, he connived at the Homage that was paid him, till he could persuade him to give it up. *Anselm*, who waited in *Normandy* for the Return of the Envoys sent to *Rome*, no sooner received the Pope's Letter, containing the Articles which he was to agree to, than he prepared to set out for *England*, in order to have them approved and ratified by the King. But he was taken ill, and in the mean time the King arrived in *Normandy*, to pursue the Conquest, which he had so successfully begun. Before he took the Field, he went to the Monastery of *Bec*, where *Anselm* still continued, not being yet well recovered from his late Indisposition. However, upon the Arrival of the King he celebrated Mass with great Solemnity, and in the Conference they had before the King left the Place, all Things were settled to the entire Satisfaction of both, the King being pleased with the Pope's allowing the Bishops, Abbots, and other Ecclesiastics to do him Homage, while *Anselm* was no less pleased with the King's renouncing a Right of the utmost Importance to the Apostolic See, and as such so strongly insisted on by so many Popes. On this Occasion the King, at the Request of *Anselm*, freed all the Churches in *England* from the heavy Impositions, which his Brother, *William Rufus*, had laid upon them, promised never to touch the Revenues of vacant Sees, to return to *Anselm* the whole Sum that had accrued from the Income of his See during his Absence, and, as to the Tax laid on the Parochial Clergy, to exact nothing of those, who had not yet paid it, and exempt such as had already paid it, from all Imposts for the Space of Three Years. All Differences being thus composed, *Anselm* set out on his Return to *England* in the latter End of *August* or the Beginning of *September* 1106; and the King, a few Days after, completed, by a signal Victory, the Reduction of all *Normandy*. The Duke's Army was entirely defeated, the Duke himself and most of the *Norman* Lords were taken Prisoners, and sent to *England*, where they were shut up in different Castles till Death delivered them ^k. The King immediately acquainted *Anselm* with his Victory, ascribing the Success of as unjust a War as, perhaps, was ever undertaken, to the particular Protection of Heaven. It is to be observed, that neither the Pope nor *Anselm* ever once offered to divert the King from that War, unjust and unnatural as it was, while they threatened him with Ex-

^k Eadmer. Novor. l. iv. c. 3.

communication,

communication, and left nothing else in their Power unattempted to divert him from giving Investitures, as if they had thought the delivering of a Staff and Ring to a Bishop, or an Abbot, more criminal than such a War, and the Shedding of so much Christian Blood.

The King did not leave *Normandy* till a little before Easter 1107, being employed in settling the Affairs of his new Conquest. He no sooner arrived in *England* than *Anselm*, desirous of having the above Agreement approved and confirmed by the whole Nation, persuaded the King to assemble, for that Purpose, all the Bishops, Abbots, and Lords of the Kingdom; and he accordingly appointed them to meet on the First of *August* 1107. They met at the Time appointed in the King's Palace at *London*, and the Affair of Investitures was warmly debated for Three Days together, some being for the King's investing Bishops and Abbots with the Staff and the Ring, in the same Manner as they had been invested by his Two immediate Predecessors, his Father and his Brother; while others, gained by the Artifices of *Anselm*, but more by his good Offices in persuading the King to ease the Churches of the heavy Impositions laid upon them, approved of the King's laying aside the usual Method of investing, and contenting himself with the Homage, that the Bishops and the Abbots were allowed to pay him upon their Election. But the King had already renounced his Right to Investitures, by his Agreement with *Anselm*, and therefore made a formal Resignation of it in the present Council, contrary to the Advice of many of the Bishops as well as the Lords. The Council being ended, several Sees, that had long been vacant, on Account of this Dispute, were immediately filled, and the Ceremony of investing the new Bishops, by the Delivery of the Staff and Ring, was omitted. Thus were no fewer than six Bishops ordained, in one Day, by *Anselm*, and *Gerard*, Archbishop of *York*, after they had been canonically elected, says the Historian, by their respective Churches^m; which Words seem to insinuate that the King gave up his Right to the nominating as well as to the investing of Bishops. Thus ended this Controversy in *England*, the King tamely parting with one of the most undoubted Rights, and most valuable Prerogatives of his Crown. But finding, that the King of *Germany* still continued to assert the Right, that he had given up, he threatened to resume it, complaining to *Anselm*

Year of
Christ 1107.

The King
makes a formal
Resignation of his
Rights to In-
vestitures.

^m Continuator. Ingu^l. p. 126.

Year of
Christ 1107.

of the Pope's Partiality in requiring him to resign a Prerogative, which he allowed another Prince to enjoy, who had no better Right to it. *Anselm* acquainted the Pope with the King's Complaints; and his Letter was immediately answered by *Paschal* in the following Terms: "Know that I never did, that I never will suffer the King
" of *Germany* to give Investitures. I only wait till the Fierceness of
" that Nation be somewhat tamed: but if the King continues to
" follow the wicked Example of his Father, he shall feel, in due
" Time, the Weight of the Sword of St. *Peter*, which we have al-
" ready begun to draw." We shall see, in the Sequel, the Issue of this Dispute with the King of *Germany*, and in the mean time return to *Paschal*, whom we left at *Troyes*, giving Audience to the *German* Embassadors in the Council, which he held in that City.

Paschal re-
turns to
Rome.

From *Troyes* *Paschal* returned to *Rome* about the latter End of the present Year 1107, and was there received, says the Abbot of *Usserg*, by all Ranks of Men, as if he had returned from the Dead. He continued at *Rome* the greater Part of the following Year 1108, and during his Stay there, restored the See of *Braga* to the Metropolitan Dignity, which it had formerly enjoyed^o, and annulled the Marriage of *Urraca*, Daughter of *Alphonfus* VI. King of *Castile* and *Leon*, with *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, to whom she was related in the third Degree of Consanguinity. The Pope, in his Letter to *Didicus*, Bishop of *Compostella*, orders him to command *Urraca*, in his Name, to depart from the King on Pain of being excluded from the Communion of the Church, and deprived of all secular Power. However, in 1110 she had not yet obeyed that Order, as appears from a Grant of King *Alphonfus*, her Husband, to the Monastery of St. *Mary* of *Balvanera*, bearing that Date, wherein the King calls her his Wife, saying, *I and my Wife Urraca, the Daughter of the most valiant King Alphonfus, and related to me by Blood, who jointly rule with Royal Authority, from the Pyrenean Mountains to the Reflux of the Ocean, grant, &c.*^p

Council of
Beneven-
um.

Year of
Christ 1108.

From *Rome* the Pope repaired to *Beneventum* to hold a Council there; but of that Council we know no more than what we read in the Chronicle of *Petrus Cassinensis*, viz. that *Paschal* came to *Monte Cassino* in the Month of *October* of the present Year 1108, and taking with him *Bruno*, Bishop of *Segni*, and Abbot of that Monastery, went from thence to *Beneventum*, and in a Council, which he held there,

^o *Pasch. ep.* 44.

^p *Bernard. in vit. Gerald.*

^p *Sandoval, fol. 120.*

excommu-

excommunicated, as his Predecessors had done, all Laymen, who should presume to give, and all Clerks, who should receive Investitures at their Hands, and besides forbad Clerks to wear Lay or costly Habits¹. *Paschal*, upon his Return to *Rome*, appointed *Gerard*, Bishop of *Angouleme*, his Legate over all *France*, who is said to have held no fewer than eight Councils, during the Time of his Legation, and to have reformed many Abuses, that prevailed in those Churches². *Paschal* entertained a very high Opinion of *Gerard's* Sanctity, as well as his Abilities. But we shall see him adhering to an Anti-pope, when he could not prevail upon the true Pope to confirm to him his Legatine Power.

Year of
Christ 1108.

In the mean time the young King of *Germany*, desirous of having an End put to the Quarrel between him and the Pope, and not a little provoked at *Paschal's* excommunicating in all his Councils, Laymen, who gave, and Ecclesiastics, who received, Investitures from them, sent *Frederic*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, *Bruno*, Archbishop of *Treves*, *Heriman* of *Winceburch*, in whom he reposed great Confidence, and several other *German* Lords, with the Character of his Embassadors to *Rome*, to try whether they could, upon any reasonable Terms, conclude an Agreement with his Holiness, and restore by that Means, the Union that had formerly subsisted between the Apostolic See and the Empire. The Pope received them on their Arrival at *Rome* with all possible Marks of Distinction, declared that it was his sincere Desire to live in the strictest Friendship with his beloved Son the King of *Germany*, and that he ever should, provided the King on his Part behaved as became a Catholic King, a Son and Defender of the Church. The Embassadors continued at *Rome* all this Year and Part of the next, negotiating an Agreement between the Pope and the King; and an Agreement was, in the End, concluded upon the following Terms: That the Emperor (for so he is stiled by *Petrus Diaconus*) should renounce all Right and Title to Investitures by a Writing, which he should deliver to the Pope in the Presence of the Clergy and the People; that he should leave the Churches free with their Oblations, and such Demesnes as did not belong to the Empire before the Church possessed them; that he should absolve the People from their Oaths, which they had been forced to take against their Bishops; that he should restore the Patrimonies and Possessions of *St. Peter*, as was done by *Charles*, *Lewis*, *Henry*, and the other

Solemn Em-
bassy from the
King of
Germany to
the Pope.

Year of
Christ 1109.

Articles of
the Treaty
concluded be-
tween the
Pope and
the King.

¹ *Petrus Cassin.* Chron. lib. iv. c. 35.

² *Pasch.* ep. 27.

Year of
Christ 1109.

Emperors, and maintain, to the utmost of his Power, the said Apostle in Possession of them; that he should not contribute, by Word or Deed, to deprive the Pope of his Pontificate, of his Life, his Limbs, or his Liberty, and that in this Article should be included *Peter of Leo* (that is, *Peter* the Son of *Leo*, a Man of great Power in *Rome*, and zealously attached to the Pope), his Children, and such others as the Pope should name; and lastly, that the Emperor should deliver to the Pope *Frederic*, his Sister's Son, and Twelve Lords of the Empire, who are all named in the Treaty, as he says, for the Observance of these Articles. The Pope, on his Side, engaged, if the Emperor fulfilled what he had promised, to order the Bishops, who should be present at his Coronation, to resign and deliver up to him whatever had belonged to the Crown in the Time of *Lewis*, *Henry*, and the other Emperors his Predecessors; to forbid them, on pain of Excommunication, to usurp or claim the Royalties, that is, Cities, Duchies, Marquisates, Counties, the Right of Coinage, of holding Markets, levying Taxes, exacting Tolls; to give him no Trouble for holding the Lordships, and whatever else had belonged to the Empire; to receive him with Honour, and crown him in the same manner as his Predecessors had been crowned by other Popes; and lastly, that *Peter of Leo* should continue with the King till the Pope had fulfilled all the Articles of this Agreement.

Alliance be-
tween the
Pope and the
Normans.

As the Pope did not know whether the King would ratify the Treaty he had concluded with his Embassadors, he applied, in the mean time, to the *Norman* Princes of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who readily engaged to assist him with all their Forces, and to march, at a Moment's Warning, to his Assistance, by whomsoever attacked. In like manner the chief and most powerful Citizens of *Rome* declared, all to a Man, that they would stand by his Holiness to the last, in case the Agreement between him and the King should not take place. The Pope, thus encouraged, held a Council in the *Lateran* Palace, and there excommunicated anew all Laymen who should, from that Hour, give Investitures, and all Ecclesiastics, who should, upon any Pretence whatsoever, receive them at their Hands. At the same time they were suspended from all the Functions of their Office, who should ordain any, that had been thus promoted.

Lateran
Council.
Year of
Christ 1110.

The King sets
out for Italy.

The King was no sooner informed by his Embassadors of the Issue of their Negotiations with the Pope, than he resolved to go to *Rome*,

* Petrus Damian. Chron. Cassin. lib. ii. c. 37.

† Concil. t. x.

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in order to be crowned there, and put the finishing Hand to the Treaty, which they had begun. This his Intention he notified to the States of the Empire in a General Diet, which he had appointed to meet for that Purpose, at *Ratisbon*, inviting all the Lords and Princes, who were present, to attend him, in the most splendid manner they could, that the Ceremony of his Coronation might thus be rendered the more august. He set out from *Germany* in the Beginning of *August*, at the Head of a very numerous Army, consisting of 30,000 Horse, besides Foot, and entering *Italy* on the Day of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, that is, on the 15th of that Month, he obliged all the Cities and Countries, through which he passed, to do him Homage, and such Places as refused to admit him he besieged, took, and laid in Ashes, and, among the rest, the Two Cities of *Novara* in *Lombardy*, and *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*. As the Season was far advanced, and his Army had suffered greatly in passing the *Apennine* Mountains, he stopt some time at *Florence*, kept his Christmas there, and after the Holidays resumed his March, and arrived at *Sutri*. He was there met by the Embassadors he had sent to *Rome*, who delivered to him the Treaty, which they had concluded with the Pope. As by One of the Articles of that Treaty the Bishops were to deliver up to the King all the Towns, Castles, Estates, and Lordships, that had been given them by the Emperor his Predecessor, or had ever belonged to the Empire, and he, in Exchange, was only to renounce the Right of delivering to them a Staff and a Ring, he immediately ratified it, and swore strictly to observe every Article it contained; but upon Condition, that the Bishops agreed to it of their own Accord, or that his Holiness obliged them to agree to it.

Year of
Christ 1110.

Ratifies the
Treaty con-
cluded by his
Embassadors.

The Treaty being thus ratified and sworn to by the King, and by *Peter of Leo* in the Pope's Name, the King approached the City with his Army, and encamped, on the 11th of *February* 1111, at a small Distance from the Walls. The next Day, being *Quinquagesima Sunday*, he made his Entry into the *Leonine City*, was received without the Gate by the *Jews*, under it by the *Greeks*, and within by the whole *Roman* Clergy, and an Hundred Nuns with burning Tapers in their Hands; when, alighting from his Horse, he was attended by them, and an infinite Multitude of People, with loud Acclamations, to the *Vatican*. The Pope waited for him upon the Steps of *St. Peter's Church*, which the King ascended, and prostrating himself before him, kissed his Feet. The Pope raised him, and they then

Enters the
Leonine
City.
Year of
Christ 1111.

How received
by the Pope

Year of
Christ 1111.

*His Inter-
view with
the Pope.*

embraced and kissed each other Three Times, and then proceeded together, the King holding the Pope's right Hand, to the Silver Door, one of the Doors of St. *Peter's* Church. There the Pope appointed him Emperor, kissed him again, and the Bishop of *Lavini* said the First Prayer over him. They then entered the Church, and coming to a Place called the *Porphry Wheel*, the Pavement being inlaid with Porphyry in Circles, they both sat down in Two Chairs placed there by the Pope's Order, while the Cardinals, the *Roman* Clergy, and the *Germans*, stood round them. Being thus seated, the Pope desired the King to restore to the Church her just Rights, and renounce Investitures, pursuant to the Treaty, which he had ratified and sworn to observe. The King answered, that as he had engaged to renounce Investitures, upon Condition that the Bishops gave up to him all the Estates and Lordships, which they held of the Empire, he must first know whether they were disposed to comply with that Condition. He accordingly rose up, and, leaving the Pope, retired, with such of the *German* and *Lombard* Bishops as were present, to the Vestry, to confer with them there. As the Conference lasted a long time, the Pope, weary of waiting, sent to the King to desire he would return and perform what he had promised. He returned, and the Bishops with him, all to a Man protesting against the Treaty, and declaring that they would not part with their Estates, that the Pope had no Right to dispose of them, and that as the Emperor had given them to the Church they were unalienable. The Pope strove in vain to satisfy them, saying, *It was just to render unto Cæsar the Things that were Cæsar's; that he, who serves God, ought not to be taken up with the Affairs of this World; that the Use of Arms, and consequently the Possession of Castles and Strongholds, is, according to St. Ambrose, foreign to the Office of a Bishop.* The Bishops, sensible that the Pope's whole Conduct, in this very Affair, was a manifest Contradiction to the Maxims which he inculcated to them, and that he only wanted to acquire the disputed Prerogative at their Expence, kept to the Resolution they had taken in Spite of all his Holiness's Exhortations as well as Menaces. However the Pope, pretending to have fulfilled, on his Side, all the Articles of the Treaty, challenged the King to fulfil them in like manner on his. This occasioned a warm Dispute between the King and the Pope, in the Heat of which a *German* of the King's Retinue stepping up to the Pope, *To what Purpose*, said he with a haughty Air,

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So many Speeches? What have we to do with your Articles and Treaties? Know that our Lord the Emperor will have you to crown him, without any of your Articles or Conditions, as your Predecessors crowned Charles, Lewis, and Pepin. The Pope answered with great Composure, that he neither could, nor would crown him, till he had executed the Treaty, which he had bound himself by a solemn Oath to observe. As the King had ratified the Treaty, and sworn to observe it, only upon Condition that the Bishops resigned their Lordships, which they refused, and would not by the Pope himself be prevailed upon to do, he was so provoked at the Pope's unfair Proceeding, that he ordered his Guards to surround him that Moment, saying, that he should crown him. The Pope however was allowed to celebrate Mass as it was *Quinquagesima Sunday*; but as he was going to retire, when the Service was ended, the Soldiers stopt him, and all the Cardinals who were with him, and kept them in the Church till the Dusk of the Evening, when they were all conveyed, under a strong Guard, to a House at a small Distance from the Church ^u.

Year of
Christ 1111.

He arrests
the Pope.

In the mean time Two of the Cardinals, *John* Bishop of *Tusculum*, and *Leo* Bishop of *Ostia*, having made their Escape, and got, in the Disguise of two *Plebeians*, into *Rome*, inflamed the Inhabitants to such a Degree against the *Germans*, that they flew immediately to Arms, and murdered every *German* they met in the Streets, who, being ignorant of what had happened, were either innocently visiting the Holy Places out of Devotion, or viewing the Rarities of the City out of Curiosity. The enraged *Romans* did not stop there, but passing the Bridges of the *Tyber*, in Battle-array, attacked the King with such Fury, that it was with great Difficulty he kept his Ground. The *Romans* however were repulsed at last: but they soon returned, in greater Numbers, to the Charge, the Fight was renewed, and such was the Slaughter on both Sides, that the *Tyber* was tinged with the Blood of the Slain. The King himself was wounded in the Face, was unhorsed, and would have fallen into the Hands of his merciless Enemies, had not *Orto* Count of *Milan*, flying to his Rescue, given him his Horse, and thus enabled him to put himself again at the Head of his Cavalry, who had begun to give way. The Count was taken, and carried into the City by the *Romans*, where they cut

The Romans
strive to re-
scue him.

^u Acta Vatican. apud Baron. ad ann. 1111, et Petrus Diacon. Chron. Cassin. l. 4. c. 38, 39.

Year of
Christ 1118.

Great Slaughter
on both
Sides.

The Emperor
retires and
carries the
Pope and the
Cardinals
with him.

him to pieces, with the utmost Barbarity, and threw his mangled Members to the Dogs. The *Germans*, though encouraged by the King at their Head, were driven back to *St. Peter's*, and even from their Quarters in that Neighbourhood, which the *Romans* plundered. But the *Germans* falling upon them as they were passing the Bridge of *St. Angelo*, loaded with the Booty, a dreadful Slaughter ensued, the Booty was recovered, and great Numbers of the *Romans* were either slain on the Bridge, or forced to throw themselves into the River, where they all perished. They, who escaped the Slaughter, being joined by others, still rallied, and the Fight lasted till Night coming on parted the Combatants. In the mean time the Cardinal of *Tusculum*, having assembled the *Romans*, and represented to them in an inflaming Harangue the unworthy Treatment the Pope had met with from the *Germans*, and the Obligation they were under of rescuing him out of the Hands of his Enemies, even at the Expence of their Lives, worked them up to such a Pitch of Fury and Rage, that they bound themselves by a solemn Oath to resist the King to the last Drop of their Blood, and to look upon all as their Enemies, who should join or assist him. The Cardinal promised, at the same Time Remission of all their Sins to such as should die in so good a Cause, in so holy a War ^z.

The King, informed of the Disposition of the *Romans*, and the Resolution they had taken, thought it advisable to retire; and he left accordingly the *Leonine City* in the Night, carrying with him the Pope, the Cardinals, and several of the *Roman Nobility*. The King strove, on his March, to bring the Pope to his Terms, that is, to crown him without requiring him to give up Investitures. But finding that he still refused to comply with these Terms, he caused him to be stript of his pontifical Ornaments, and bound like a Criminal. The Cardinals, and such of the *Roman Nobility* and Clergy as were taken with the Pope, met with no better Treatment, and they were all bound and shut up in different Prisons, in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Soracte*, where the King first halted. From Mount *Soracte* the King entered the Country of the *Sabins*, with a Design to return against *Rome*. He left the Pope with the Two Bishops of *Sabinia* and *Porto*, and Four Cardinals, under a strong Guard, at a Castle called *Terbicum*, and the rest of the Cardinals at the Castle of *Corcodisum*, Places now utterly unknown.

^z Petrus Diacon. Chron. Cassin. l. iv. c. 38, 39.

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The Pope was attended by some *German* Lords, and none but *Ger-*
mans were allowed to come near him. In the mean time, the ^{Year of}
King, by laying waste the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with Fire and ^{Christ 1111.}
Sword, and preventing any Supplies of Provisions from being con-
veyed into the City, had reduced it to the utmost Distress. But the
Romans, encouraged by the Bishop of *Tusculum*, still refused to
submit, nay, and rejected, with Scorn, the large Sums, with which
the King attempted to bribe them. Their Obstinacy so provoked
the young Prince, that he ordered the Pope, the Cardinals, and
all the other Prisoners to be brought to his Camp, and, in the
Presence of his whole Army, swore, that if the Pope did not ful-
fil the Articles of their Agreement, he would put him to Death,
and all who were with him. The Pope, not in the least intimidated
with these Menaces, answered, that he was in the King's Power, and
he might therefore dispose of him as he pleased; but that he would
rather part with his Life, than what was dearer to him than Life
itself, the Rights of his Sec. Hereupon the Emperor, finding that
the Obstinacy of the Pope was Proof against his Menaces, changed
his Stile, and offered to release him and the rest of the Prisoners,
provided he renounced his Claim to Investitures, declaring that, by
that Ceremony, he did not mean to confer any spiritual Power, Au-
thority or Jurisdiction, but only to convey the Temporalities, and
Demefnes, that depended upon the Empire. But the Pope, no more
moved by the Offers of the Emperor than by his Threats, still re-
turned the same Answer. However, the Cardinals and other Pri-
soners, no longer able to bear this Captivity, earnestly besought him
to have Pity upon them, and comply for their Sakes, if not for his
own, with the Demands of the Emperor. They represented to
him the deplorable State of the *Roman* Church, that had lost almost
all its Cardinals, the Miseries that so many Men of the first Distinc-
tion in *Rome* endured in the Prisons, to which they were con-
fined, being, for their Attachment to him and his Sec, snatched from
their Wives, their Children, their Country, and from every Thing
that was dear to them, and the imminent Danger of a Schism, since
the Emperor would not fail to cause another Pope, more pliant, to be
chosen, if he could not obtain from him what he demanded. The
Pope long withstood the Prayers and Entreaties of all his Friends.
But as they, laying before him the Calamities which the Church
was threatened with, and the Hardships that they were forced to
undergo,

Year of
Ch iiii 1111.
Yields at
last.

Articles
agreed to by
him and the
Emperor.

undergo, gave him no Respite, he yielded in the End, and bursting into Tears, *I am forced*, he said, *to suffer for the Peace and Liberty of the Church, what I had rather have lost my Life than have suffered.*

The Pope having thus consented to an Agreement with the Emperor, the following Articles were drawn up by his Order, and signed by Ten Cardinals, Two Bishops, and Three Deacons: "Pope *Paschal* shall not molest King *Henry* on Account of giving Investitures to the Bishops and Abbots of his Kingdom; he shall not concern himself with them, nor shall he ever excommunicate the King for granting them, or for any Injury he had done, on Occasion of this Dispute, to him or his Friends and Adherents; the King shall invest, as he has done hitherto, with the Crosier and the Ring, the Bishops and Abbots, who shall have been elected freely, without Simony, and with his Approbation; the Archbishops and Bishops shall consecrate those whom the King shall have thus invested, and none shall be consecrated till he has invested them; the Pope shall crown the Emperor forthwith, shall assist him to preserve his Kingdom, and shall confirm to him, by a special Bull, the Right of investing." The Articles drawn up in the Emperor's Name, and sworn to by the Archbishop of *Cologne*, the Bishops of *Trent*, *Spire*, *Munster*, by *Albert* Chancellor of the Empire, and by Eight Counts and Marquises, were as follows; "I *Henry*, on *Wednesday* or *Thursday* next, shall set at Liberty Pope *Paschal*, and all the Cardinals, Bishops, and other Persons, as well as Hostages who have been taken with him, and for him; and shall cause them to be conducted safe to the Gate of the *Transiberine* City. I shall not henceforth arrest, or cause any to be arrested, who shall be faithful to Pope *Paschal*; and the *Roman* People, as well as the Inhabitants of the *Transiberine* City, shall enjoy Peace and Safety, unmolested both in their Persons and Estates: I shall restore the Patrimonies and Demesnes of the *Roman* Church, which I have taken, shall help and assist her to recover and to hold whatever in Justice belongs to her, as my Ancestors have done, and shall obey Pope *Paschal*, saving the Honour of my Kingdom and Empire, as the Catholic Emperors have obeyed the Catholic Popes".

This Bull
granted by the
Pope to the
Emperor.

These Articles were drawn up and sworn to in the Emperor's Camp, at a small Distance from *Rome*. The Emperor, however, distrusting, it seems, the Pope, would not release him till he was in Possession

Paschal II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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of the Bull, confirming to him the Right of Investiture. *Paschal's* Secretary, therefore, and his Seal, were sent for from *Rome*, and as ^{Year of Christ 1111.} soon as the Secretary arrived, the Bull was drawn up, was signed by the Pope, and sealed with his Seal. It was couched in the following Terms : “ *Paschal*, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his “ beloved Son *Henry*, King of the *Germans*, and by the Grace of God “ Emperor of the *Romans*, Health and Apostolic Benediction. As “ your Kingdom has been always distinguished by its Attachment “ to the Church, and your Predecessors have deserved by their Probity “ to be honoured with the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, it has pleased the “ Almighty to call you my beloved Son *Henry*, in like Manner, to “ that Dignity &c. We therefore grant to you that Prerogative, which “ our Predecessors have granted to yours, namely, that you invest the “ Bishops and Abbots of your Kingdom with the Staff and Ring, pro- “ vided they shall have been elected freely and without Simony, and “ that they be consecrated, after you shall have invested them, by the “ Bishops, whose Province it is. If any shall be chosen by the People “ and the Clergy, without your Approbation, let him not be conse- “ crated till you have invested him. The Bishops and Archbishops “ shall be at full Liberty to consecrate the Bishops and Abbots, whom “ you shall have invested. For your Predecessors have so endowed and “ enriched the Church out of their own Demesnes, that the Bishops “ and Abbots ought to be the foremost in contributing to the Defence “ and Support of the State, and it behoves you on your Parts to sup- “ press the Popular Diffensions that happen at Elections. If any Person, “ whether Clerk or Layman, shall presume to infringe this our “ Concession, he shall be struck with Anathema, and shall forfeit his “ Dignity. May the Mercy of the Almighty protect those, who shall “ observe it, and grant your Majesty a happy Reign w.”

All Things being thus settled, the Pope was set at Liberty, hav- ^{The Emperor} ing been kept Prisoner for the Space of Eight Weeks, that is, from ^{crowned.} *Quinquagesima Sunday*, which in the present Year 1111 fell on the 12th of *February*, to the first *Sunday* after *Easter*. The Pope and the Emperor entered the *Leonine* City together, and proceeding strait to the Church of *St. Peter*, the Emperor was there crowned by the Pope, on *Sunday* the 12th of *April*, with the usual Solemnity, the Gates of *Rome* being all kept shut during the Ceremony, to prevent the *Romans* and the *Germans* from quarrelling anew. When

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Christ 1111.

the Ceremony of the Coronation was ended, the Pope celebrated Mass, and coming to the Communion, divided the Host, took one Part of it himself, and gave the other to the Emperor, saying, *We give you, Emperor Henry, the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the Cross, as we are taught by the Holy Catholic Church; we give it you in Confirmation of the Peace we have made; and as this Part of the vivifying Sacrament is divided from the other, so may he, who shall attempt to break this Agreement, be divided from our Lord Jesus Christ, and excluded from his Kingdom.* The Emperor, before he took his leave of the Pope, insisted upon his delivering to him the above-mentioned Bull with his own Hand, in the Sight of all, who were present. This *Paschal* declined at first, but was in the end obliged to comply. With that Bull the Emperor returned in Triumph to his Camp, and soon after set out for *Germany*. The Pope, now at Liberty, entered *Rome*, where such Crowds flocked from all Quarters to see him, and congratulate him upon his Deliverance, that it was Night before he got to the *Lateran Palace*.

Returns to
Germany.

The Pope
blamed for the
Bull granted
to the Empe-
rer.

Paschal met with a very different Reception from the Cardinals, who had remained in *Rome*, during his Imprisonment, and from the Clergy in general. They all looked upon him as one who had sacrificed the Right of the Church to his own Safety, and pressing him, not without Menaces, to revoke immediately the Bull he had granted, and declare null all he had done, they protested to his Face that they never would acquiesce in a Grant so unjust, and so prejudicial to the Interest and Honour of the Church, and so openly repugnant to the Decrees of his Two late Predecessors *Gregory* and *Urban*. On the other Hand the Cardinals, who had been imprisoned with the Pope, undertook his Defence with no less Warmth, representing his Compliance with the Demands of the Emperor as a necessary Measure to save the City and Inhabitants of *Rome*, as well as the Church, from imminent Ruin. But their Reasons were of no Weight with the Cardinals of the opposite Party, who upon the Pope's going, we know not upon what Occasion, into *Campania*, assembled as soon as he was gone, and having with one Voice declared void and null all his Concessions, they renewed the Decrees against Lay Investitures, and with *John* of *Tusculum*, and *Leo* of *Vercelli*, at their Head, condemned all, who should act, or should support any,

who acted contrary to those Decrees ; which was condemning the Pope himself, and with him all who adhered to him. The Pope, being informed of what had passed, wrote to the Cardinals from *Terracina*, blaming their indiscreet Zeal, striving to convince them that, by yielding, he had prevented greater Evils, and promising to correct the Evil which they thought he had done. This Letter is dated the 5th of *July*, of the present Year, and it appeased the Cardinals for the present. But *Bruno*, Bishop of *Segni* and Abbot of *Monte Cassino*, once one of *Paschal's* chief Favourites, insisted on his not only revoking the Bull, but excommunicating the Emperor for extorting it from him. As for the Oath he had taken, *Bruno* maintained it to be null, because not taken freely, and even told *Paschal* in the very severe Letter, which he wrote to him on this Occasion, that it was Simony, Heresy, and Idolatry, for a Layman to give, and for a Clerk to receive Investiture at his Hands, and that he was no Catholic, who approved of the one or the other. As this was telling the Pope that he was a Heretic, or an Abettor of Heresy, he highly resented it, and wrote immediately to the Monks of *Monte Cassino*, by *Leo* Bishop of *Ostia* and a Monk of that Monastery, commanding them to withdraw all Obedience to *Bruno*, and to chuse forthwith another Abbot in his room. The Monks obeyed ; and *Bruno*, retiring to his Bishopric, led there a most religious and exemplary Life till the Year 1125, when he died, and was canonized after his Death by *Lucius II.*

Paschal, finding his Conduct was censured, not only by the *Roman*, but by most other Churches, sincerely repented of what he had done, and wanted to revoke the Bull he had granted. But being at a Loss how to reconcile his Revoking, it with the Oath, never to molest the Emperor on Account of Investitures, he appointed a Council to meet in the *Lateran*, in order to advise with the Bishops of different Nations about the Means of observing that Oath, and yet preserving the Liberty and Rights of the Church. The Council met on the 28th of *March* 1112, consisted of Twelve Archbishops, One hundred and Fourteen Bishops, Fifteen Cardinal Priests, Eight Cardinal Deacons, a great Number of Abbots, and Ecclesiastics of all Ranks, and the Pope presided at it in Person. In the Three first Sessions of this Council, several Regulations were made relating to the Discipline of the Church, and in the fourth the Decrees against the *Guibertines*, that is, against those who had adhered to the Au-

Year of
Christ 1111.

The Lateran
Council.
Year of
Christ 1112.

Year of
Christ 1112.

tipope *Guibert*, suspending them from all ecclesiastical Functions, were renewed and confirmed by the Pope, who they pretended had absolved and restored them. In the fifth Session the Pope gave the Council a minute Account of all his Transactions with the Emperor from the Time he was taken till he was set at Liberty, told them that to prevent greater Evils he had granted to the Emperor the Privilege of investing all the Bishops and Abbots of his Kingdom, that he had confirmed that Privilege to him by a special Bull; that though it was extorted by Force and Violence, yet as he had sworn to observe it, and never to molest the Emperor on Account of Investitures, he would not excommunicate him; that he had not done well in granting such a Privilege, was sensible that it ought to be corrected, but that, as to the Manner, he left it to the Judgment, to the Prudence, and Discretion of the Council. The Bishops desired they might be allowed Time to deliberate, and that the deciding of so important an Affair might be put off to the next Day, which the Pope readily agreed to.

*The Grant of
the Pope re-
voked by the
Council.*

As the granting of Investitures was by some, and by *Bruno of Segni* among the rest, deemed Heresy, the Pope, to leave no room for such an Imputation (as Popes were not yet thought infallible) made, at their Meeting the next Day, a public Confession of Faith, declaring that he received the holy Writings of the Old and New Testament, the Four Gospels, the Seven canonical Epistles, the Canons of the Apostles, the Four General Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, as the Four Gospels, the Decrees of the *Roman* Pontiffs, especially of *Gregory VII.* and *Urban II.* that he held what they had held, condemned what they had condemned, approved what they had approved, and forbade what they had forbidden, and that he would ever persevere in these Sentiments. When the Pope had ended his Confession of Faith, the Council took his Bull in favour of the Emperor into Consideration, and very different were their Opinions concerning it. But that of *Gerard*, Bishop of *Angoulesme*, who spoke the last, was received by all as dictated by the Holy Ghost, namely, that as the Pope had only promised not to excommunicate the Emperor, he might excommunicate his own Bull, and thus render it as ineffectual as if it never had been issued. As his Opinion was approved by the whole Council, he drew it up in the following Terms; "All of us, who are assembled in this holy Council, condemn by the Authority of the Church," and

“ and the Judgment of the Holy Ghost, the Privilege extorted from
 “ the Pope by King *Henry*, and that it may for ever be void and null,
 “ we excommunicate the said Privilege, it being thereby ordained, that
 “ a Bishop, though canonically elected, shall not be consecrated till he
 “ has received Investiture from the King, which is against the Holy
 “ Ghost, and inconsistent with canonical Institution.” When this
 Paper was read, the whole Council cried out with one Voice, *Amen*,
Amen; Fiat, Fiat ^{Year of Christ 1112.} ^{The Emperor excommunicated by the Pope's Legate in France.}

The Pope would not excommunicate the Emperor, but he suffered him to be every where excommunicated by his Legates, and confirmed the Sentence they had pronounced ; which was the same Thing as if he himself had excommunicated him, since their Sentence was null, unless approved and confirmed by him. Thus *Guido*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, at this time the Pope's Legate in *France*, having assembled all the Bishops under the Jurisdiction of his See, not only confirmed the Sentence of the *Lateran* Council, but declared it Heresy to receive Investitures of a Bishopric, of an Abbey, or of any other Ecclesiastic Preferment whatever from the Hand of a Layman, and thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against the Emperor for the Violence he had offered to the Pope, in forcing him to sign a detestable Writing, derogatory to the undoubted Rights of the Church, and inconsistent with the Decrees of his Predecessors. The Archbishop sent the Acts of this Council to the Pope, who, with a manifest Breach of his Oath immediately confirmed them ^z. *Baronius* writes, that *Paschal* was with great Difficulty prevailed upon, and not till Four Years after, to confirm these Acts ^a. But from the Acts it appears, that the Council was held in *September* 1112, and the Pope's Letter, confirming them, is dated the 17th of *November* of the same Year ^b.

The following Year 1113 a solemn Embassy was sent by the Emperor *Alexius Comnenus* to *Rome*, to express his Concern for the barbarous Treatment his Holiness had met with from the King of the *Germans*, and to thank the *Romans* in his Name for the Zeal they had shewn, and the Courage they had exerted in Defence of their common Father. The Embassadors, who were all Persons of the first Rank in the *Greek* Empire, added, that the Emperor,

^z Concil. t. x. p. 767. Anonym. Hist. Pont. et Concil. Engel. apud Labeum. Biblioth. t. ii. p. 249. ^a Concil. t. x. p. 786. ^b Bar. ad ann. 1112.

Year of
Christ 1113.

their Master, proposed to come himself, or to send his Son to *Rome*, to receive, after the Example of the ancient Emperors, the Imperial Crown at his Holiness's Hand c. The Pope sent with the Embassadors, on their Return to *Constantinople*, *Chrysolanus*, Archbishop of *Milan*, One of the most learned Men of his Age, and thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek* Tongue. But of this Affair no further Mention is made in History. *Alexius* was greatly alarmed at the Conquests made by the Western Princes in the East, and it was, probably, to prevent them from invading his Dominions that he thus courted the Friendship of the Pope.

The Emperor
excommunicated in several Councils.

Years of
Christ 1114,
1115.

The Two following Years 1114, 1115, several Councils were held in *France* by *Cono*, Cardinal and Bishop of *Palestrina*, sent thither by the Pope with the Character of his Legate *a Latere*, viz. One at *Beauvais*, another at *Reims*, a Third at *Chalons*, a Fourth at *Cologne*, and by all the Emperor was solemnly excommunicated, and the Decrees against Lay Investitures renewed and confirmed. Another Council was appointed to meet at *Cologne*, and several Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and even some of the first Lords of the Empire, had already assembled in that City; but Cardinal *Dieteric*, or rather *Theodoric*, who was to preside at it, dying on his Way from *Rome* to *Germany*, the *German* Bishops chose One of their own Body to represent the Pope in his room; and by this Council too the Emperor was excommunicated, and with him all Laymen, by what Titles soever distinguished, who should thenceforth give Investitures, and all Ecclesiastics, who should, in Defiance of the Decrees of so many Councils, receive them from a Lay Hand.

The Pope's
Legate excommunicates the Norman Bishops.

In the Council, that was held at *Chalons* about the Middle of *July* 1115, the Legate *Cono* excommunicated all the Bishops, who being summoned to that Council had not complied with the Summons, and the Bishops of *Normandy* in particular, who, though Three Times summoned, had neither appeared at that, nor at any other of his Councils. This Step highly provoked the King of *England*, as the *Norman* Bishops were his Subjects, and forbidden by the same Laws, as the *English* Bishops, to assist at any Council, held out of their Country, without his Leave; and he resolved to resent it in a proper Manner, the rather as he had not yet digested the Treatment, which he had met with from the Pope in the Dispute about Investitures.

tures, and was not a little chagrined by a Letter, that he had received a little before from *Rome*. That Letter was written by *Paschal* on the following Occasion. *Anselm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying in 1109, that See remained vacant for the Space of Five Years, that is, till the Year 1114, when *Rudolph*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who had the Inſpection of the Dioceſe, during that long Vacancy, was choſen to ſucceed the deceased Archbishop, and put in Poſſeſſion of the See, without the Approbation or even the Knowledge of the Pope. However the Monks of *Canterbury*, by the King's Order, ſent ſoon after to *Rome* for the Pall; and on that Occaſion the King wrote as well as they to the Pope, to acquaint his Holineſs with the Tranſlation of *Rudolph* from *Rocheſter* to *Canterbury*. The Pope, who had been long diverted, by his Quarrel with the Emperor, from attending to the Affairs of *England*, was greatly ſurpriſed to hear, that they had appointed a new Archbishop, and even tranſlated him from another See to that of *Canterbury*, without applying to him, who alone had a Right to tranſlate Biſhops. However, not caring to quarrel with the King of *England*, at ſo critical a Juncture, he granted the Pall, but ſent it over by a Deputy of his own; and choſe for that Purpoſe *Anſelm*, Nephew to the late Archbishop of that Name, who had conſtantly attended the *Engliſh* Deputies, during their Stay at *Rome*, was greatly inſtrumental in procuring the Pall, and had lived ſeveral Years in *England* in his Uncle's Life-time. The Meſſengers were charged, on their Return to *England*, with Three Letters, One for the Monks of *Canterbury*, another for the King, and a Third for the King and the Biſhops of the Kingdom. In his Letter to the Monks he reproaches them, with great Severity, for preſuming to receive a new Archbishop without acquainting him with it. In his Letter to the King, he expreſſes great Surprize and no leſs Concern at *St. Peter's* being denied, in his Kingdom, the Honour that is due to him; complains of his not allowing either Nuncios, or Letters of the Apoſtolic See, to be received in his Dominions without his Order or Permiſſion; of his ſuffering no Appeals to be made to *Rome*; and in the Cloſe of his Letter puts him in mind of the Contribution, paid by his Subjects to *St. Peter*, meaning the *Peter-pence*, which, he ſays, was ſo careleſſly collected, that the *Roman* Church received not Half of what was due. His Letter to the King and the Biſhops of *England* is dated the 1ſt of *April* 1115, and in that Letter he tells them, that when Chriſt divided the World amongſt

Year of
Chriſt 1115.

The Pope
complains
that his See
was diſre-
garded in
England.

Year of
Christ 1115.

amongst his Apostles, he committed *Europe*, in particular, to the Care of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; that Appeals had therefore, at all times, been made from different Provinces of *Europe* to the Apostolic See; that all Matters of Moment, concerning Bishops, had ever been referred to, and finally determined by, the Judgment of that See alone; but “you, he added, determine all Affairs by your own Authority, call Councils and translate Bishops without our Consent, or even our Knowledge: If you preserve, with respect to these Points, the Regard you owe to the Prince of the Apostles and his See, we shall cherish you as our Brethren and our Children; but if you persist in your Obstinacy, we shall shake off the Dust of our Feet, as the Gospel directs, and leave you to the Judgment of God as being no longer Members of the Catholic Church, but deservedly cut off from the Communion of the Faithful^d”. This Letter, and the Sentence of Excommunication pronounced by the Legate against the *Norman* Bishops, greatly exasperated the King, and with the Advice of the Bishops, whom he consulted on this Occasion, he resolved to send an Ambassador to *Rome*, with an Answer to the Pope’s Letter. As he intended, at the same time, to remonstrate against the Proceedings of the Legate, as derogatory to the Privileges granted by the holy See to his Father, his Brother, and himself, he chose the famous Bishop of *Exeter*, *William of Warlewast*, though blind, for that Embassy, as he was well known to the Pope, and one upon whose Fidelity and Abilities the King could safely rely. The Bishop, blind as he was, went in Compliance with the King’s Command, to *Rome*; and though *Eadmerus*, as well as all other Writers, is quite silent with respect to his Negotiations there, yet, as we hear of no farther Complaints on the King’s Side, the Bishop, probably, prevailed upon the Pope to satisfy him, and revoke the Sentence of his Legate against the *Norman* Bishops.

The King remonstrates against the Proceedings of the Legate.

Council of
Troia.

The Pope went this Year into *Apulia*, and in a Council, which he held at *Troia*, consisting of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of those Parts, as well as the *Norman* and other Lords, the *Treuga Dei* was confirmed, and all, who were present, swore to observe it, and forbear all Hostilities for the Space of Three Years^e. From *Troia* the Pope repaired to *Benevento*, and having there quieted the Disturbances, that prevailed among the chief Citizens, aspiring

^d Pasch. ep. 200, 205, 206. Eadmer. Novor. l. v.

^e Falco in Chron.

at the Government of the City, he returned to *Rome* about the Middle of *October*, and soon after appointed a General Council to meet there the following Year on *Monday* the Third Week of Lent, summoning all the Bishops in the West to assist at it, or if prevented by Age, Indisposition, or any other canonical Impediment, to send Deputies to assist at it in their Name.

Year of
Christ 1115.

The Council met in the *Lateran* at the Time the Pope had appointed, that is, on the Sixth of *March* 1116, was so numerous, that some have stiled it an œcumenical Council, and the Pope presided in Person. In the Two first Sessions the Two Pretenders to the See of *Milan*, *Grosulanus* and *Jordanes*, were heard, and in the Third the Bishop of *Lucca*, complaining of the *Pisans* for invading and seizing a Territory, which he said belonged to his Church. As the Bishops of the Council were, with Respect to this Subject, divided in their Opinions, and warm Disputes thereupon ensued, One of the Bishops, standing up, spoke thus; "The Pope, our Lord and Father, should remember, that so many Bishops are here assembled, come from distant Countries, and through great Dangers by Sea and by Land, not to wrangle about temporal Affairs, but chiefly to know what are his Sentiments, and what we are to teach when we return to our Churches." Then the Pope addressed the Council in the following Words. "After the Lord had disposed of his Servant as he thought meet, and delivered me and the *Roman* People into the Hands of the King, I saw Rapines, Devastations, Murders, Adultery, committed daily; and it was to deliver the Church, and the People of God, from these and such like Evils, that I did what I did. I did it as Man, because I am but Dust and Ashes. I confess I did wrong; but beg you all to pray God to forgive me. As for that cursed Writing, which was drawn up in the Camp, I condemn it with an eternal Anathema, that its Memory may be forever abhorred and detested; and I desire you all to do so." At these Words they all cried out, *Fiat, Fiat*, Be it so, Be it so.

The Lateran
Council.
Year of
Christ 1116.

The Pope's
Grant con-
demned by
him and the
Council.

When Silence was made, *Bruno*, Bishop of *Segni*, of whom I have spoken above, rising up, *Let us all*, he said, *return Thanks to the Almighty, that we have heard Pope Paschal, who presides at this Council, condemn with his own Mouth that Privilege which is heretical as well as iniquitous. If the Privilege, said here One of the Bishops, be heretical, he who granted it must of Course be a Heretic.* A Heretic! replied Cardinal *Gaetan*, dare you call the Pope

The Pope
charged with
Heresy by
some Bishops,
and defended
by others.

Year of
Christ 1116,

a Heretic in the Face of the whole Council? The Writing he gave was, I own, bad, but it contained no Heresy. It cannot, said another, be even called bad, since it was given to deliver the People of God from Oppression, which is a good Work according to the Gospel, requiring us even to lay down our Lives for our Brethren. The Pope, hearing himself charged with Heresy, lost all Patience, and, commanding Silence with his Hand, addressed the Bishops thus; "Hear me, my Brethren, and Lords; the whole World knows, that the Roman Church was never infected with Heresy, nay that all Heretics have, by this Rock, been dashed to Pieces; the Arian Heresy, that had prevailed for the Space of Three Hundred Years, was here extirpated; the Heresies of *Eutyches*, of *Sabellius*, of *Photinus*, and all other Heresies and Heretics, were here proscribed and suppressed; and it was for this Church that our Saviour prayed, when he prayed that *Peter's* Faith might never fail." Thus ended the Third Session. The Pope did not assist at the Fourth, being employed in giving Audience to the Abbot of *Cluny*, to *John Cajetan*, *Peter Leo* Governor of the City, and others come with Proposals from the Emperor, desirous of putting an End, upon honourable Terms, to the present Dispute between the Church and the State.

The Pope refuses to excommunicate the Emperor.

In the Fifth Session warm Disputes arose between the Friends of the Emperor and *Cono* Bishop of *Palestrina*. The Bishop, who had excommunicated the King in all the Councils which he had held while Legate in *France*, pressed the Pope to pronounce the same Sentence against him. But he was therein strongly opposed by *Cajetan*, urging the Promise that his Holiness had made, and confirmed with his Oath. The Pope declared that he never would excommunicate the Emperor, but would inviolably observe the Promise he had made. However he confirmed, which was a manifest Breach of that Promise, the Sentence, that *Cono* and his other Legates had thundered out against him, and all who adhered to him; and that Sentence was renewed by all the Bishops of the Council ^f. The Pope was obliged, soon after the Council was ended, to leave *Rome* for a while, and retire to *Setia*, now *Sezza*, on account of the Disturbances that were raised by the Son of the late Prefect, who had, upon his Father's Death, usurped the Prefecture of the City, but could not

Disturbances in Rome.

^f Concil. t. x. p. 806. Usperg. in Chron. ad ann. 1116.

Paschal II. BISHOPS of Rome.

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prevail upon the Pope and some of the chief Citizens to acknowledge him; which occasioned a kind of civil War. But they, who supported him, being in an Encounter defeated by the opposite Party, Peace was restored to the City, and the Pope returned to *Rome*.
Year of
Christ 1116.

As *Anselm*, Nephew to the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been well received in *England* when he brought the Pall to the new Archbishop, *Paschal*, not despairing of being able to introduce, by his Means, the Legatine Power into this Kingdom, sent him, this Year, to *England* with the Character of his Legate. *Anselm* found the King in *Normandy*, and there communicated to him the Pope's Letter, appointing him Legate of the Apostolic See in *England*, and vesting him with all his Power. The King entertained him with great Magnificence at *Rouen*, but would not suffer him to pass over into *England* without the Advice of the Bishops and Lords of the Kingdom. He sent them accordingly immediate Notice of this new Attempt of the Pope, and the Arrival of the Legate in his *Norman* Dominions. Upon this Intelligence a great Council was held in *London* in the Presence of the Queen, and it was unanimously resolved by all the Bishops, Lords, and Abbots, who composed it, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom that Affair chiefly concerned, should wait upon the King in *Normandy*, and remonstrate against such an Attempt, as contrary to the Customs and Laws of the Kingdom, nay and that he should, if the King approved of it, go to *Rome*, and get the Pope to recall *Anselm*. This Province the Archbishop readily undertook, as he was extremely desirous, says the Historian; of visiting the Tombs of the Apostles, and he accordingly set out in a few Days on his Journey. The King, whom he found with the Legate at *Rouen*, entirely approved of the Resolution of the Council; and he thereupon pursued, with *Herebert*, Bishop of *Norwich*, his Journey to *Rome*, which City the Pope had left some time before, at the Approach of the Emperor, and was then at *Benevento*. As the Roads were infested by Parties of the Emperor's Army, by whom all were seized and ill used who went to the Pope, and the Archbishop was already greatly fatigued with his long Journey, he staid himself at *Rome*, and sent Messengers with Letters to the Pope, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and the Business upon which he was sent. The Messengers, of whom the chief was the Bishop of

• Falco in Chron. Benevent. ad ann. 1116.

Year of
Christ 1116.

The Pope con-
firms all the
Privileges of
the See of
Canterbury.

Year of
Christ 1117.

Paschal fa-
vours the
Archbishop of
York against
the Archbi-
shop of Can-
terbury.

Norwich, were well received by the Pope, and having satisfied him, that the sending of a Legate into *England* was a Violation of the Privileges granted to the See of *Canterbury* by its Founder *Gregory the Great*, they obtained a Letter, confirming to that See all the Privileges that it had ever enjoyed. The Address of the Letter was, *Paschal Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his venerable Brethren the Bishops of England, and to his beloved Son Henry illustrious King, Health and Apostolic Benediction.* It is dated *Benevento* the 22d of *March* 1117. This Letter the King communicated to *Anselm*, who thereupon left *Normandy*, where he had waited so long; and returned as he came. The King would not, it seems, even give him Leave to cross over to *England* in order to collect the Money, that was there due to *St. Peter*^f.

The Archbishop returned to *England*, well pleased with the Success that had attended his Negotiations with the Pope. But he was soon after not a little mortified by a Letter from the Pope to the King, in favour of *Thurstan*, Archbishop Elect of *Tork*. I have mentioned above the Dispute between the Two *English* Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, concerning the Authority of the former over the latter. That Dispute was decided in favour of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by a Council held here in 1073, at which presided *Hubert*, the Pope's Legate, and the Decision of the Council was confirmed by the Pope himself, *Alexander* II. However *Thomas*, who was then Archbishop of *Tork*, dying in the present Year, *Thurstan*, his Successor, following his Example, refused to make canonical Profession of Obedience to *Rudolph*, at this time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Rudolph* refusing, on his Side, to ordain him, the King obliged *Thurstan* to quit his See. But he, applying to *Paschal*, procured a Letter from him to the King in his Favour. For in that Letter the Pope declared, that he would preserve inviolable the Privileges of the See of *Canterbury*, but would suffer nothing to be done to the Prejudice of the See of *Tork*, and therefore begged the King to restore, by all means, as Justice required, the Elect to his See^h. Thus was the Decree of *Alexander*, in a manner, reversed. But of the further Proceedings of *Thurstan* I shall have Occasion to speak in the following Pontificate.

^f Eadmer. Novor. l. v. p. 116, 117. ^g See above, p. 236.

^h Malmesb.

de Gest. Ang. Pontiff. l. iii. Eadmer. l. v. p. 121.

In the mean time the Emperor, hearing of the Sentence of Excommunication thundered out against him by the *Lateran* Council, and desirous of coming to an Agreement with the Pope, who, he knew, would not fail to stir up his Subjects against him, sent Deputies to *Rome* to negotiate a Peace, and restore the wished for Union between the Church and the Empire. The Deputies, putting the Pope in mind of the Promise he had made never to excommunicate the Emperor, begged him to revoke that Sentence. But *Paschal* answered, that he had kept his Word though given by Force, that he had not been excommunicated by him, but by the Bishops of the Council, and that he therefore could not take off the Excommunication without their Advice, and hearing both Parties. The Emperor, provoked at this Answer, resolved to return to *Rome*, and try whether he could not prevail upon his Holiness to grant to him what he refused to his Deputies. He accordingly set out, early in the Spring of the present Year 1117, at the Head of a numerous Army, and as he passed through *Lombardy*, took Possession of the Dominions of the Countess *Mathilda*, dead Two Years before. He paid, it seems, no kind of Regard to the Donation, which that Princess was said to have made to the *Roman* Church in the Time of *Gregory VII.* nor does it appear, that *Paschal* ever laid any Claim to the extensive Territories that she had possessed in *Lombardy* as well as in *Tuscany*. The Pope, hearing that the Emperor was arrived in *Lombardy* and that he intended to return to *Rome*, left that City in great Haste, and retiring to *Apulia* put himself under the Protection of the *Norman* Princes, who, he knew, would all stand by him, whereas many of the *Romans* had openly declared for the Emperor. In the mean time the Emperor, approaching *Rome* at the Head of his Army, reduced all the Strong-holds in that Neighbourhood, and by that Means distressed the *Romans* to such a Degree, that they were soon obliged to open the Gates and admit him into the City. He was received with great Demonstrations of Joy by those of his Party, especially by *Cencius* and *Ptolemy*, Two of the most powerful Citizens of *Rome*, who had all along steadily adhered to him, and had, on that Account, been excommunicated by the Pope. A few Days after his Arrival he assembled the *Roman* Clergy in the Church of *St. Peter*, and expressing great Concern, in the Speech he made to them, at the Pope's Flight, he assured them, that, in returning to *Rome*, he

Year of
Christ 1117.

The Emperor
sends Deputies to Rome
to get the
Sentence of
Excommunication re-
voked.

Goes in Person to Rome,
and the Pope
retiring at
his Approach,
he is admitted
into the City.

Year of
Christ 1117.

Is crowned
anew by the
Pope's Le-
gate.

The Emperor
retires to
Tuscany
and the Pope
returns to
Rome.

had nothing else in his View, but to settle, in an amicable Manner, all Differences between the Church and the Empire, and to prevail upon his Holiness, by gentle Means, to crown him anew, as his former Coronation was said to have been extorted by Force. He therefore begged that Favour of them, as representing the Pope in his Absence. The Clergy returned Answer, that his Behaviour contradicted his Words, that he was come with an armed Force, that he had reduced, by dint of Arms, the neighbouring Castles, and obliged the City either to receive him, or to perish by Famine. As to his Request, they told him, that they neither could, nor would, grant it without the Consent and Approbation of the Pope, to whom they referred them. Hereupon the Emperor applied to *Maurice Bourdin*, Archbishop of *Braga*, whom the Pope had sent, as a Man of great Address and Abilities, with the Character of his Legate, to negotiate a Peace. He was easily prevailed upon, some say, with a Promise of the Pontifical Dignity, to comply with the Emperor's Request; and he accordingly crowned him anew, with the usual Ceremonies, in the *Vatican* Basilic, in spite of the Opposition he met with from the whole *Roman* Clergy^h. Of this *Paschal* was no sooner informed, than, assembling a Council at *Benevento*, he excommunicated *Bourdin*, as a Traitor and Rebel to the Apostolic See, declared him, as such, deprived of his Dignity, and wrote to *Bernard*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, requiring him to notify that Sentence to all the Bishops of *Spain*, and to cause another to be preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of *Braga*, which *Bourdin* had forfeited by his Treacheryⁱ.

In the mean time the Emperor, leaving *Rome* on account of the Heat of that Climate, which he found very troublesome, retired to *Tuscany*, and the Pope approaching *Rome* upon his Retreat, recovered, with the Help of the *Normans*, some of the fortified Places that were held by the *Germans*. In *Campania* he was seized with a dangerous Malady, and thereupon carried to *Anagni*, where all, who attended him, despaired of his Life. However he recovered, and repairing from *Anagni* to *Præneste*, he there consecrated the Church of St. *Agapetus*, and not only assisted at the long Service of Christmas Eve, but attended a Procession. From *Præneste* he marched with his *Normans* to *Rome*, and entering the City, when least ex-

^h Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal II. Petrus Diac. c. 63. ad Gallor.

ⁱ Gelas. II. ep. i.

pected, struck such Terror into all of the Imperial Party, that some either fled, or kept themselves concealed, while others chose to submit, and swear Fidelity to the Apostolic See and St. *Peter*. But while the Pope was making the necessary Preparations to reduce his Enemies by Force, and to put the City in a State of Defence against the Return of the Emperor, he fell ill again, and died, being quite spent with the Fatigues, which he had undergone, in a few Days^k. His Death happened on the 21st of *January* 1118, after a Pontificate of Eighteen Years, Five Months, and Seven Days. He was embalmed, was clad with the Pontifical Ornaments, and deposited in a Marble Tomb of curious Workmanship in the *Lateran* Basilic^l. Of this Pope we have in the Collection of Councils an Hundred and Seven Letters, most of them relating to Ecclesiastical Matters.

^k Pandulph. Pisan.
Italici.

^l Joan. Diacon. Junior, apud Mabill. tom. ii. Musci

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